

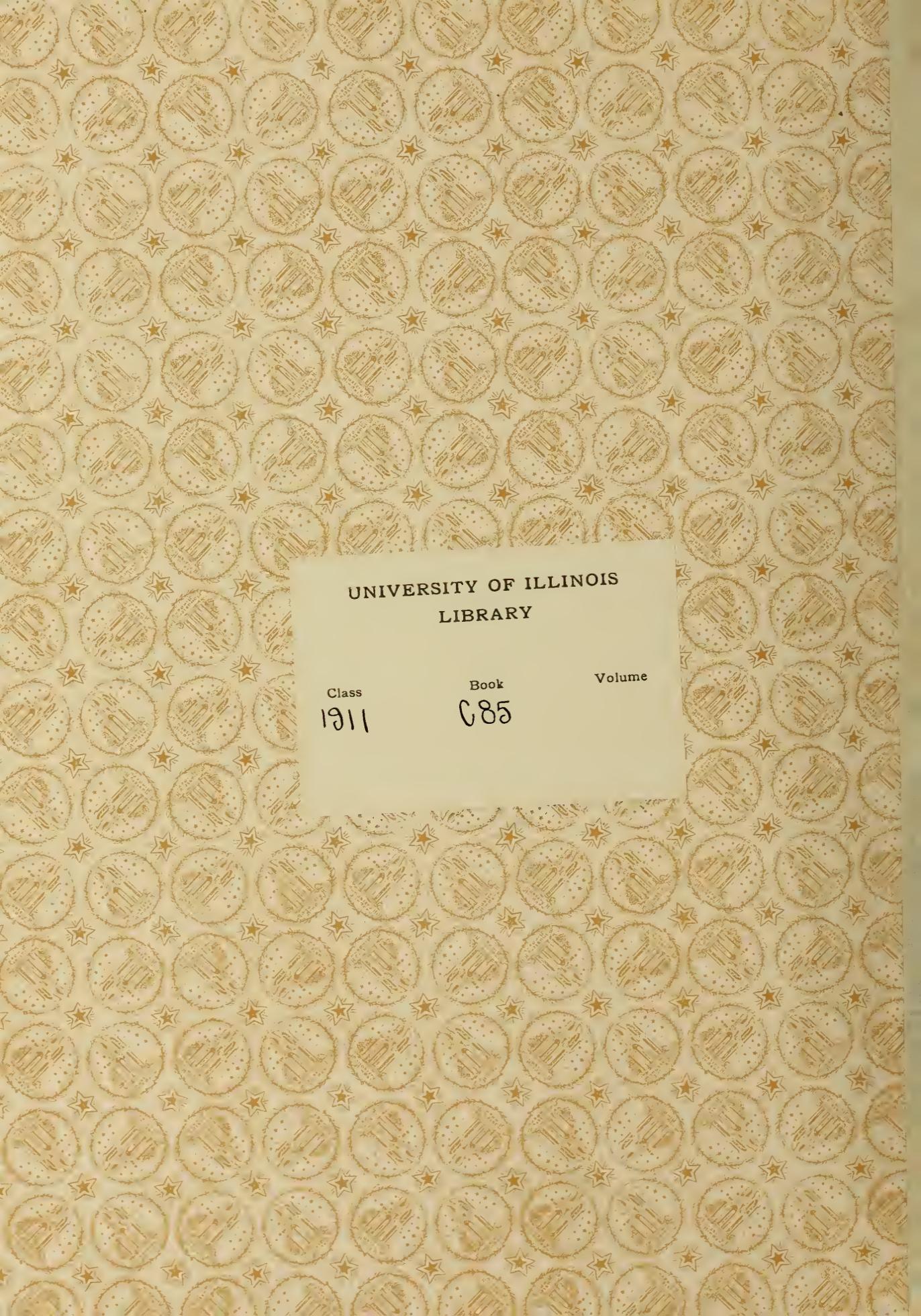
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The Octavious of Minucius Felix

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THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX
(TRANSLATION WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION)

BY

LUCILE STARR CRAVENS
A. B. Lombard College 1910

THESIS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Lucile Starr Browens

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Translation, with Notes and Introduction*

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INTRODUCTION

Although the date of the Octavius is still a matter of controversy, the book has the distinction of being the earliest extant work in Latin in defence of Christianity. It must have been written some time before 250 A.D., which was about the time Cyprian published his *De Idolorum Vanitate* in which he is indebted to Octavius. The determination of the date depends on the writer's relation to Tertullian, for they have so many arguments in common expressed in nearly the same words that it is natural to suppose one followed the other. Schultze attempted to place Minucius in the time of Diocletian, inferring from the general phrase "reges et principes" (page 501, line 31) that there must have been both Augusti and Caesares. From the same phrase Keim believes that there must have been more than one occupant of the imperial throne and dates the Octavius a little before 180 under Aurelius and Commodus. Ebert maintains that Minucius precedes Tertullian, by seeking to find in Tertullian derivations of Cicero through Minucius. The latter followed Cicero closely; the former shows no evidence of having recently read Cicero when he wrote his Apology. Hence by finding common passages containing traces of Cicero, Ebert shows that Minucius derived them from Cicero and Tertullian from Minucius. Then again he produces passages in which Tertullian has blundered in copying Minucius. For instance he mistakes the historian Cassius mentioned in the Octavius (page 484, line 32) for Cassius Severus and speaks of him by that name.

The book seems to have been written after some great persecution (page 12, line 4; page 40, lines 8 - 15) perhaps that

of 177. Hence Minucius probably lived in the last of the first and the first of the second century A.D.

There is but one manuscript of the Octavius, originally at the Vatican Library but now in the Royal Library of Paris. It was presented to Francis I by Leo X. In 1542, it was published by Sabaeus the curator of the Vatican Library as the eighth book of Arnobius's Adversus Gentes, owing to the confusion between Octavus and Octavius. The mistake was repeated in two other editions but was corrected in 1560 by Baudouin⁵¹⁷ who published an edition at Heidelberg under the real author's name with an introduction establishing the authorship.

The form of dialogue used in the Octavius was chosen in imitation of Cicero and Tacitus. Little is known of Octavius, the spokesman of Christianity, beyond the fact that he lived in one of the provinces, probably Africa. He had been a magistrate and acknowledges the prejudice of pagan days. (page 493)

Of Caecilius Natalis the defendant of Paganism but little more is known. He may have been the confessor Natalis who was bishop of the Theodotians. In the dialogue (page 471, line 29) Caecilius, mentioning a speech of Fronto says "Cirtensis nostri oratio". Octavius in referring to Fronto says "Tuus Fronto". From this we suppose that Caecilius was a native of Cirta and a fellowtownsman of Fronto. Six inscriptions have been found at Cirta containing the name M. Caecilius, Q. F. Quin, Natalis Aed III vir Quaestor Q. Q. Praef (C.I.L. VIII 6996; 7094 - 98). To identify the Caecilius of the Octavius would date the work too late. Furthermore the personal characteristics of the two men are not in

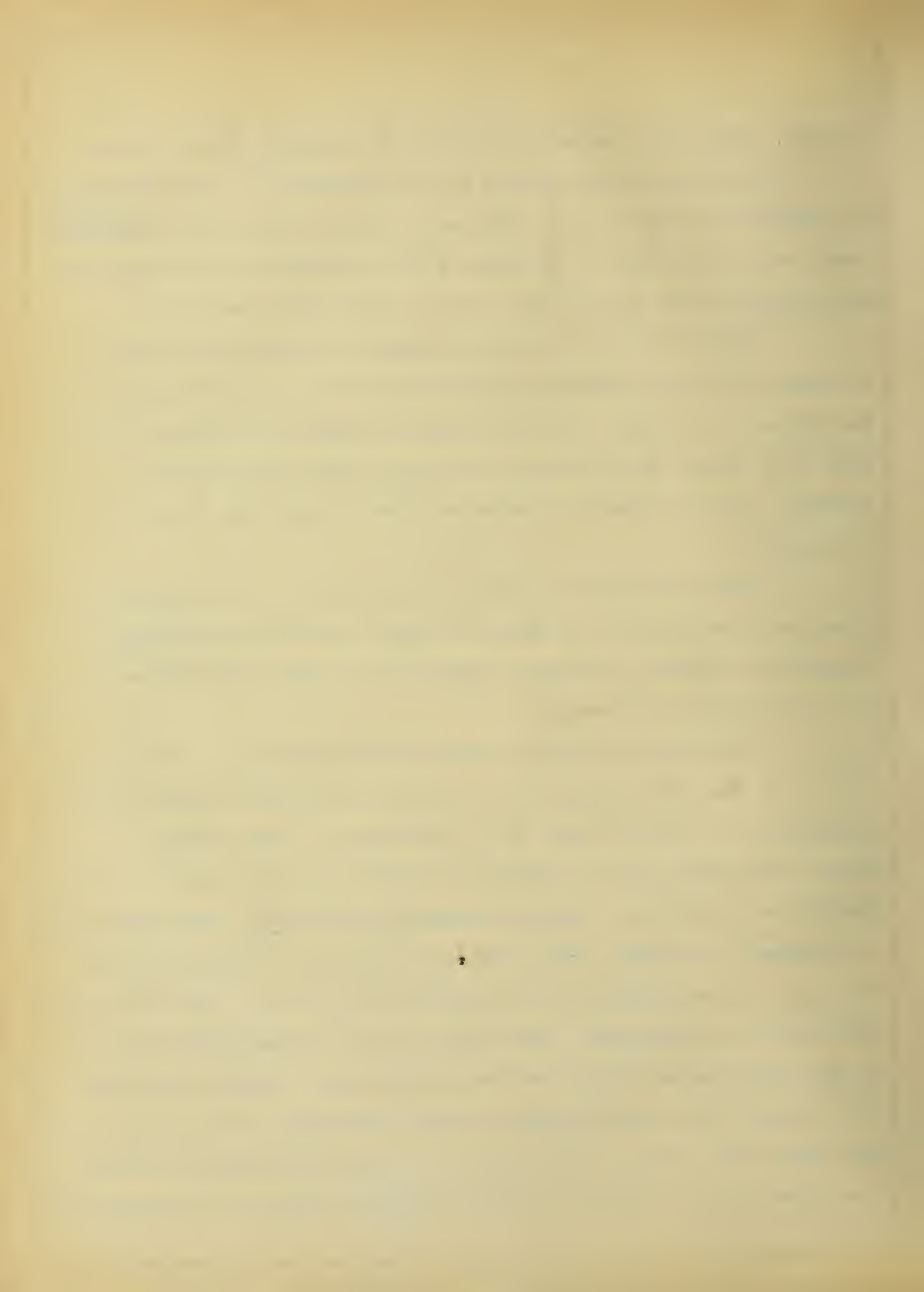
keeping. They were probably relatives or possibly father and son.

Minucius Felix, Marcus of the dialogue, is first mentioned by Lactantius (Instit. V, 1) who says he was a lawyer "non ignobilis inter causedicos loci". He may be merely drawing an inference from the Octavius which is the only source we have for his life.

Minucius did not imitate Cicero in choosing the form of dialogue alone, but closely follows many of the arguments found in the Nature of the Gods. The reasoning of Caecilius follows in part that of Velleius the Epicurean and in part that of Cotta the Academic. In the attack on Paganism Octavius uses the Stoic philosophy.

The work shows an extensive knowledge of the Classics. Among the poets quoted are Ennius, Virgil, Lucretius and Horace. Minucius is probably altogether indebted to Cicero and Seneca for his philosophical references.

The Unity of God, the resurrection and future retribution of sin are the only arguments used in the defense and explanation of Christianity. Christ's name is not mentioned. There are no direct quotations from the Bible or allusions to the Trinity, Revelation or Baptism. Logos prominent in Justinian, Athenagoras and Tertullian is omitted. The fanaticism found in these authors is replaced by reasoning calm and conciliatory in tone. The ethical and philosophical predominate. The cause of this marked difference may be that Minucius wrote for the unconverted upper classes and could not overcome the strong dislike of the Christians of that period to make known too much of their doctrine, Schanz advances the theory that Minucius was indebted to Fronto for the defense of paganism and



the attack on Christianity and that the defense is merely an answer to it.

The arguments are put with vivacity and acuteness and are refuted with ingenuity. The general style is fluent, rising at times to eloquence. Perfect workmanship is shown in the careful way in which each argument is taken up and refuted. The charm and grace of language make the Octavius an example of literary art well worth the title of Aureus Libellus.

I. Introduction

II. Attack of Christianity.

A. Presumption of the uncultured in pronouncing positively on questions which the greatest philosophers have doubted.

B. Lack of good reason for belief in God.

1. Chance concourse of atoms sufficient for origin of world.

C. Duty of worshipping ancient gods

1. Example of our ancestors.

2. Their power shown by universal experience^{and}/consent of all nations.

3. Prosperity attained by the Romans through worship of the gods of all nations.

4. Their power shown by prodigies and oracles.

5. Faith of all but two philosophers.

D. Evils of Christianity.

1. Low class of its believers.

2. Slaughter of infants by the initiates.

3. Worship of Ass's head.

4. Obscurity of their beliefs.

a. doctrines unknown.

b. Lack of temples and Altars.

5. Faults of their God.

a. Inability to save Jews from capture.

b. Desire to meddle.

6. Foolishness in belief of destruction of the world.

7. Foolishness of hope in immortality.

8. Lack of pleasure.

9. Incapacity for philosophy because of lack of education.

III. Defense of Christianity.

A. Right of Christians to philosophize.

1. Reason common to all men.
2. Lack of interest in the divine of the part of the wealthy
3. Early poverty of great philosophers.

B. Existence of God

1. Supervision shown in the universe.
 - a. Regularity of seasons.
 - b. Difference in men.
 - c. Provisions for water supplies.

C. Unity of God.

1. Unity of rule in nature.
2. Common use of singular de~~us~~s.
 - a. by common people.
 - b. by poets

D. Weakness of Pagan Belief.

1. Mortality of heathen Gods.
2. Absurdity of their mythology.
3. Folly of image worship.
4. Licentiousness of pagan rites.
5. Increase of Roman power.
 - a. by irreligious acts.
 - b. by no aid from deposed native gods.
6. Power of demons.
 - a. source of idolatry.
 - b. inspiration of oracles.

- c. cause of fictitious cures.
- d. cause of pretended miracles.
- e. cause of tales against Christians.

E. Answer to attack on Christianity.

1. Reverence in lack of temples and images.

- a. No limitation of his power to narrow space.
- b. His image in man himself.
- c. Sacrifices in good deeds.

2. Power in God's invisibility.

a. invisibility of

- 1. wind
- 2. human soul

3. Tenability of doctrines.

- a. Destruction of world according to philosophers.
- b. Resurrection according to philosophers who
believed in transmigration of souls.
- c. Short continuation of prosperity of wicked.
- d. Undesirability of riches.
- d. Discipline in persecutions.

F. Failure of Pagan Philosopher.

- 1. Wickedness of their lives.

IV. Conclusion

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When I was calling to mind and thinking of Octavius, my good and most faithful companion, his great charm and kindly disposition was so vividly before me that I seemed in some way to go back into the past and not to depend on memory for the details of our acquaintance. So his presence is almost a part of my very being and is as closely entwined about my heart as he himself is far removed from my sight. With good reason does this man good and excellent, in his death, leave in us an intense longing for him. This is only natural since he was always so fond of me that both in light and serious matters he cultivated a desire and distaste for the same things with a zeal equal to my own. You would believe that we shared the same mind. Thus he was the only confident of my desires, he was also my comrade in false beliefs, but when the darkness was past and I had emerged from the shadows into the light of wisdom and truth, he did not cast me off as his companion, but, what is more glorious, he went on swiftly in advance. So when I was thinking over our intimacy as a whole and the length of our friendship, my thought settled especially on that speech of his by which, though a most weighty discussion he converted Caecilius who was still clinging to empty superstition, to the true religion.

2. For Octavius had come to Rome on business and also to see me. He had left home, wife and children, who were at that most pleasing age, when their minds as yet innocent and as yet only attempting broken words the sweeter because of the very shortcomings of the erring tongue. I cannot express in words how much and in what way I rejoiced in my unrestrained happiness since the un-

expected visit of my dearest friend added materially to my pleasure. Then, after a day or two, when constant companionship had satisfied the eagerness of our longing and when we had learned what we did not know because of our absence from each other, it seemed best to visit Ostia, a most pleasant city, because there was the mild and agreeable cure of sea baths for drying up the humor in my body and besides the courts were adjourned because vintage season was at hand. For at that time, after the heat of summer, autumn comes with cooler weather. So, when at daybreak we were hastening for a walk up and down the seashore, so that the ocean breeze blowing gently ^{might} invigorate ^{might} us and that to our great delight the yielding sand might mark our progress, we saw an image of Serapis. Caecilius, as is the common custom of the superstitious, moving his hand to his lips, threw a kiss to it.

3. Then Octavius said: It is not the part of a good man, brother Marcus, to leave one who is intimate with you both at home and in the forum, so completely in this blind^{ness} of the ignorant crowd that, in the clear light that we enjoy you should permit him to throw kisses to stones, sculptured to be sure and anointed and crowned, since you know not less blame rests upon you than upon him for this error.

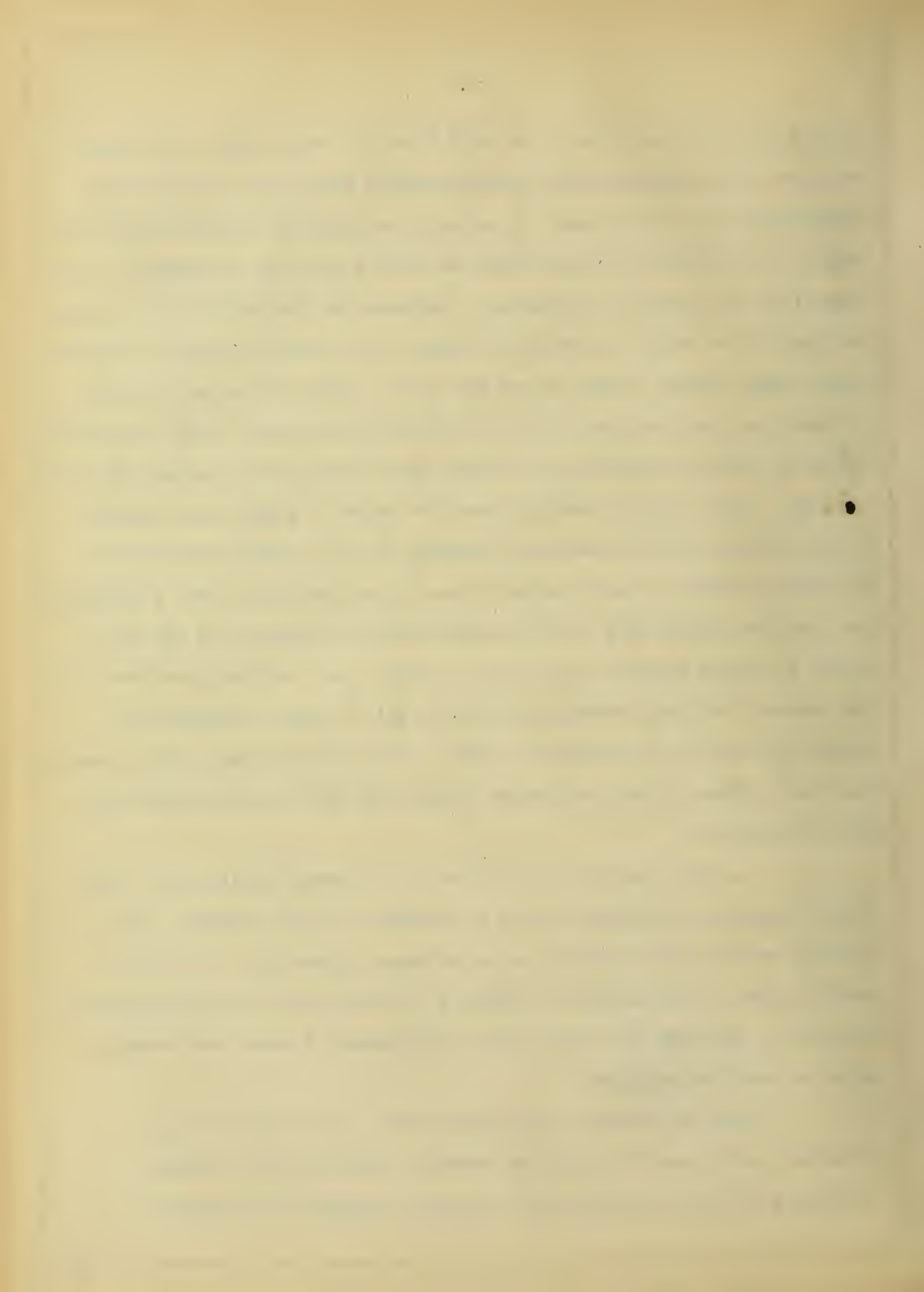
With these words we had passed by the middle of the city and were now holding the open shore. There the lightly flowing waves, as though they had left a path for us were washing the edge of the sands, and, as the sea is always restless, even when the wind is still, although the water was not flowing fast to land with white and foaming waves, still we were extremely pleased with its

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all income and expenses. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of keeping the books up to date. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit.

uneven and tortuous flow. We walked on the very edge of the sand and now the oncoming waves almost touched our feet, now receding they mingled with the sea. So slowly and quietly walking along the edge of the gently curving shore we passed our way listening to the beguiling sea tales of Octavius. But when we had walked far enough, talking as we went, and were retracing our steps we came to a place where small ships, drawn up on the shore, were shored up by props of wood so that they would not be injured by contact with the ground. There we saw boys playing, throwing flat stones into the sea in merry rivalry. The player picks up from the shore a stone worn smooth by the action of the waves and holding it in a level position in the hand, bends low and throws it as far as possible over the waves, so that the missel may either skim along the surface of the sea until it stops because its force is spent, or, cutting the crest of the waves, may keep springing forth until it stops because its force is lost by its frequent leaps. He is considered victor among the boys, whose stone both skims along the furthest and skips the most frequently.

4. Then, while all the rest of us were delighted by the sight, Caecilius neither looked nor smiled at the contest, but silent, worried and anxious had a strange expression. To him I said: "What is the matter? Why do I not see your wonted eagerness, Caecilius, and why do I seek that brightness of your eyes common even in serious matters?"

Then he replied, "For some time those words of our Octavius have been troubling me keenly, those words in which, blaming you with negligence he covertly brought the weightier



charge of ignorance against me. Therefore I shall go farther. My controversy is with Octavius. If it is pleasing that I discuss the question with him as he is a man of that sect, he will soon learn that it is much easier to talk among his companions than to engage in a controversy. Let us seat ourselves on these rocks piled up for protecting the baths and extending into the sea, that we may rest after our walk and have an opportunity to debate attentively."

With this speech we sat down, Octavius on one side of me and Caecilius on the other, nor was this a mark of flattery, rank or honor, because friendship always finds or makes equality, but was done that I might judge and next to both pay equal attention and separate the two who were arguing.

5. Then Caecilius began as follows: "Although, brother Marcus, the subject of our discussion is one on which you have your own views, as skilled in both kinds of living, you repudiate one and approve of the other, nevertheless your mind must be so formed at present that you hold the balance of ^{an}most just judge and that you incline in neither direction, lest your opinion may seem to arise not so much from our discussion as from your own opinions. Then if you preside as one unexperienced or as it were ignorant of either side, it is easy for me to show that everything in human affairs is doubtful, uncertain or in suspense and everything more likely than absolutely certain. It is less strange that some rashly yield to any opinion because of a distaste for carefully seeking the truth, rather than persevere in investigating with persistent care. So it must be a cause for shame to everyone that

certain people, and these, too, unlearned, innocent of literature, not skillful even in sordid arts, perceive anything certain concerning the highest of subjects and the majesty of God, about which the philosophy of so many schools has deliberated for countless ages, even down to the present day. And this is proper since human mediocrity is so far removed from divine understanding that we are permitted neither to know or gaze closely at that which, hung in the sky, is elevated above us or that which is sunk deep under the earth nor is it devout to examine these things, and if we could, we should seem amply happy and wise if we should follow that old oracle of the philosopher which advised us to know ourselves. In as much as we are wandering beyond the bounds of our lowly condition in indulging in foolish and absurd labor, and, although, living upon the earth, we are endeavoring to reach the sky itself and the very stars, certainly we should not to this mistake add vain and terrifying beliefs. Provided that in the first place atoms were pressed together by their natural tendencies, who is this God Creator? Provided that by a happy cohesion of these atoms throughout the universe, its parts were united, adjusted and formed, who was the God Designer? Conceding that fire kindled the stars, conceding that its own material stretched out the sky and produced the earth with its mass, conceding that the sea flowed together from the liquid elements, whence this religious feeling, whence this fear of God? why this dread of the supernatural? Every man and every animal which is born, breathes and grows is like a voluntary condensation of the elements into which every man and every animal is resolved again and dissipated. In the same

manner everything flows back to its source and is brought back into itself and needs no designer, judge or creator. Just so when the germs of fire have come together, different suns are always gleaming; thus, when the vapors of the earth are raised on high, mists are always forming; when these are condensed and compressed, clouds mount higher; when these fall, rain pours down, winds blow, hail rattles; indeed when clouds dash to pieces, thunder roars, lightning gleams and the thunderbolt flashes. They fall quite at random, they strike mountains and trees, without choice they touch places sacred and profane, they smite the wicked and often the just. Why do I mention the varied and uncertain storms by which all things suffer without order or plan? In ship wrecks is not the fate of the good and evil the same and their merits confounded? In fires the destruction of the innocent is equal to that of the guilty. When the air is poisoned by a plague do not all perish alike? When the flame of war rages do not the brave fall the oftener? Even in peace wickedness not only equals goodness but even is so cherished that in many cases you do not know whether depravity of the corrupt ought to be detested or their happiness desired. But if the world were ruled by divine providence and the authority of some God, never would Phalaris or Dionysius^{have} reigned, or Rutilius and Camillus^{have} been exiled or Socrates^{have been} forced to drink poison. Behold trees loaded with fruit, behold crops white for the harvest, the grapes broken by rain and cut by hail. So, finally, either uncertain truth is suppressed and hidden from us or, what must be given greater credence, blind fortune, unfettered by laws, is dominated by varied and uncertain chance. Since, then, fortune is

either blind or nature is uncertain, how much more worthy of respect and how much better ^{it is} ~~to~~ to receive as a revealer of truth ~~is~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ to accept the traditional religion, the system of our ancestors, ^{and} ~~to~~ to adore the gods whom you were taught by your parents to fear before you knew them more familiarly. How much better not to express opinions concerning divinity, but to trust the men of former days, who, when the world was still rude and in the very origin of the universe deserved to have gods either as benefactors or as kings. Whence throughout the entire empire we see provinces and towns which have separate tribal rites in their sacred matters and who cherish municipal gods, just as the Eleusinians worship Ceres, the Phrygians, Mater; the Epidaurians, Aesculapius; the Chaldeans, Belus; the Syrians, Astarte; the Taureans, Diana; the Gauls, Mercury; the Romans all divinities. So their power and authority has possessed the whole earth and has extended itself power beyond the course of the sun and the limits of the ocean itself, while they show in war a valor that is based on religion, while they fortify the city with sacred rites, by chaste virgins and by honored names among priests, while siezed and held within the capital, they worship gods whom another in his anger would have spurned and rush through the battle line of the Gauls, who wonder at the boldness of their religious zeal, who were without weapons, but were armed with religious faith; while storming the walls and yet fierce in victory they venerate the defeated divinities; while they seek strange gods on all sides and make them their own, while they erect altars even to unknown divinities and powers. Thus, while they accept the religion of all races,

they deserve the rule also. From this a lasting tenor of veneration has remained which is not lessened by a long period of time but is increased, because antiquity usually gives sanctity to ceremonies and altars in proportion to their age.

7. However our ancestors did not rashly observe auguries, consult entrails, offer sacrifices and dedicate shrines. (For I am willing to make concessions to popular opinion since it is better to err in this direction.) Consider the records of books. You will learn that they instituted the rites of all religious either that divine favor might be rewarded, to divert impending wrath or when it is threatening and savage to placate it. For example, mother Idaea at her coming proved the purity of women and freed the city from fear of the enemy. Again near the pool are the statues of the two brothers who rode up on foaming horses to announce the victory over Perses on the same day on which it was won. A proof is the repetition of the games for appeasing Jupiter because of the dream of a man of the people. Then there is the Devotion of the Decii and Curtius who rode on horseback into the yawning chasm and by their bodies or their honorable deed closed the gulf.

More frequently than we would wish auspices which have been scorned show the presence of the gods. So Allia is a name of reproach, so there was not a battle between Claudius and Junius and the Phoenecians but a terrible shipwreck. Flaminius scorned the auguries with the result that Trasymenus ran deep and wide with Roman blood, Crassus mocked at the threats of the furies although he deserved them, with the result that we sought again in war from

the Parthians the military ensigns that he had lost.

I omit the numerous examples in antiquity; I neglect the verses of the poets concerning the births of the gods, their gifts and powers; I pass over the deaths predicted by oracles, lest antiquity seem too full of fable. Take notice of the temples and shrines of the gods by which the Roman state is both protected and adorned. They are more worthy of honor because of the presence of the gods as inmates than they are valuable because of the elegance, ornaments and gifts. From this, then, the priests inspired by the god, predict the future, give precautions against danger, remedies for sickness, hope for the afflicted, aid to the sorrowing, solace for calamities, alleviation for heavy burdens. Even in sleep we see, hear and know the gods whom we wickedly deny and forswear during the day.

8. Wherefore, since the agreement of all nations concerning the immortal gods remains steadfast, even when their nature and origin is uncertain, I cannot tolerate the audacious spirit of a man who, puffed up with I know not what irreverent conceit of wisdom, strives to weaken and destroy this reverence for the divine, so old, so useful, so beneficial. Let him be a Theodorus of Cyrene or his predecessor Diagorus the Melian, to whom antiquity gave the name Atheist, men who tried to destroy reverence and all fear by which humanity is ruled by maintaining that there were no gods, still such men will never become influential in their impiety. If the Athenians banished Protagoras of Abdera after they had publicly burned his writings, because he had unadvisedly rather than profanely questioned the existence of divinity, shall men --

for you must permit me to freely enforce the argument I have undertaken -- shall men, I say of an abandoned, unlawful and desperate society attack the gods in this deplorable fashion?

They gather together the lowest dregs of humanity and credulous women who are lead into error because of the readiness of their sex to believe. They organize this mass into an unholy conspiracy which, in meetings, by night by solemn fasts and by food forbidden to men, is leagued together and that too, not by anything sacred, but by guilt, a sect loving secrecy and hating the light, silent in public, garrulous in corners. They despise temples however old, they scorn the gods, they mock at sacred rites, they themselves to be pitied, if it is regret to say so, pity the priests; they reject honor and fine raiment, when they are half clad. With remarkable obstinacy and unbelievable boldness, they despise present torture, but dread uncertain punishment in the future; they do not fear to die but fear what lies beyond death. False hope deludes their fear with the solace of a resurrection. But now, just as evil always spreads rapidly their wicked practices are creeping day by day throughout the entire world. The shrines where they gather in shameless meetings grow in number. They must be held up to execration, and stamped out completely.

By means of secret marks and signs they know and love each other almost before they have become acquainted. Everywhere among them this religion of passion, as it were, is found and they call each other brother and sister indiscriminately. Shrewd rumor would not tell the most abominable tales concerning them, tales only to be told with your permission, unless they were true. I

hear that they venerate the head of that vilest of all animals, the ass, consecrated by some foolish conceit or other. A worthy and fitting religion for such mortals! He who mentions a man crucified for his crimes and the terrible cross as a part of their ceremonies declares that these lost and depraved creatures have appropriate rites so that they venerate what they deserve.

The story of their initiation of new converts is equally well known and abominable. A child hidden in a shock of grain, that it may deceive the unwary is placed before the one being instructed in their sacred rites. This child, wrapped in the grain is killed by hidden and secret wounds inflicted by the convert who has been incited to apparently harmless blows. Alas! the wickedness of it! Greedily they drink up the blood, eagerly they tear the limbs apart. They are banded together by this victim. They are pledged to mutual silence by the consciousness of crime. The religious ceremonies which I am about to mention are more shocking than all their other sacrilege. What is done at their feasts is well known. Indeed every one knows about it. Our Cirtensis also affirms it to be true.

10. Furthermore I shall omit much that the obscurity of this distorted religion shows is practically all true. For why do they strive so hard to conceal and hide what they worship when what is honorable is always pleasing to the public and when crime is always hidden. Why do they have no altars, no temples, no well known images? Why do they never speak openly or congregate freely unless that which they worship and repress is either culpable or shameful? And whence who or where is that single solitary God, whom no free race, no kingdom not even the Roman religion knows? There is the

lone, miserable race of the Jews, to be sure, but even they worship openly with temples, altars, sacrifices and ceremonies a God whose strength and power is as nothing since He and His nation became captives to the Roman divinities.

Besides, what prodigies, what miracles these Christians devise! That God of theirs whom they can neither show nor see diligently inquires into the morals, deeds and words of all people and knows their hidden thoughts. Surely then he must hurry from one place to another and still be present everywhere. They wish Him to be troublesome, restless and even boldly curious since He follows up closely everything that is done and wanders about everywhere. But he can neither pay attention to individuals when he is occupied with the affairs of the universe nor can he suffice for the universe when he is engaged with the individual.

11. What of the fact that they threaten the conflagration of all the world along with the stars and predict ruin, just as if everlasting order established by divine law was to be disturbed, or as if the compact of all elements could be broken and celestial union divided and that mass by which it is bound together be dissolved. Not content with this mad belief they weave stories such as an old woman would tell: they say that they are to live again after death both dust and ashes and in some strange way they believe their own lies; you might think that they were living again now. It is a twofold madness for them to predict destruction for the sky and stars which we leave as we find them, but to promise immortality after death and destruction to us, who as we came into being, so also must cease to be.

From this notion no doubt they both curse funeral pyres and condemn burial by cremation, as if the body even if it is not consumed by flames, is not still resolved into the earth with the passing of the years and the ages; as if it made a difference whether wild beasts tear the dead body or the sea swallows it or the earth covers it or flames consume it, since the grave is a punishment to all dead if they have consciousness; if they do not, it is a remedy in proportion to the quickness with which the body is resolved into its elements.

Deluded in this error they promise happy and everlasting life to themselves, the good, after death and to the rest, the wicked, eternal punishment. I could add more if time did not press. I shall not strive more to show them in their true light now that I have proved them wicked; although even if I call them just, fate governs guilt and innocence according to the belief of many and even of yourself. Some attribute whatever we do to Fate, you to your God. When your sect desires foreordination not free will, you imagine an unjust judge who punishes what comes to man by destiny and not by his free desire.

I should like to inquire whether we appear again with bodies or without them? and if with a body, whether with one old or new? Without a body? then, in this form, so far as I know, there is neither mind, soul nor life. In this very body? but that is already gone. In another body? then a new man is born, that first man does not reappear. Still countless ages have passed, but who has returned from the grave even for a few hours as is told of Protesilaus, that by the evidence of fact we might believe.

All these creations of senseless fancy and those fallacies, used as consolation in the sweet verses of the poets, you who are too credulous as regards your God, have shamefully reconstructed. At least you accept no proof from the present how the empty hopes of fruitless promises are deceiving you. The thought of what is impending after death makes you miserable while yet living. The larger and better part of your people, as you say, is in poverty, suffers with cold, toils for a crust of bread while your God permits it, ignores it, cannot or will not help his people: so he is either weak or unjust. Do not you who dream of immortality perceive your condition when you shake through fear of danger, when you burn with fever, when you are torn by sorrow? Do you not recognize your frailty? In your misery you are convicted of weakness and of unwillingness to confess it. I pass over generalities. Think of your dangers, punishment, torture, crosses not to be worshipped but endured, and fire, also which you predict and fear: where is that God who can aid those who are born again, but cannot help the living? Do not the Romans without your God rule, command and enjoy the whole earth and govern you? Anxious and disturbed you refrain meanwhile from worthy pleasures, do not attend spectacles, are not present at the processions, shun public banquets, you shudder at the sacred rites, the food and wine offered at altars and so fear the gods whose being you deny. You do not crown your head with flowers nor honor your body with the perfumes which you save for the dead, although you deny them flowers. Pale and trembling you are worthy of the pity of our Gods. So in your misery you neither enjoy the present, nor will you live hereafter.

13. However if there is a desire for philosophy let each one of you in so far as he is able imitate Socrates, that prince of philosophers. The response which he gave when asked concerning the divine is well known: "What is above us is nothing to us." With good reason he gained the name of unique wisdom from the oracle. He himself believed what the oracle said, that he was the wisest of men, not because he knew everything, but because he taught that he knew nothing. So the highest wisdom is the confessed lack of knowledge. The wise doubt of Arcesilas and not much after him of Carneades and Pyrro and of many of the Academy in important questions was based on this belief. In this way the unlearned can philosophize cautiously and the learned brilliantly. Pray tell me, should not the hesitation of Simonides the lyric poet, be universally admired and eagerly followed. When he was asked by the truant Hiero why he thought there were gods and what their attributes were, he asked at first for a day of deliberation. On the next day he asked for two and then when we was urged for his answer he added as many more. Finally, when the truant asked the cause of such great delay, he answered that the more deliberately he proceeded the more obscure the truth became. In my opinion such doubtful subjects must be left as they are. After so many great men have deliberated on them, adverse opinion should not be rashly and boldly accepted lest either a foolish superstition be introduced or all religion be destroyed.

Thus Caecilius spoke, smiling as he finished, for the intensity of his speech had aroused his indignation and he asked, "Does a man of the Plantin^{is} swarm, the most distinguished of bakers

at the same time the worst of philosophers, dare to answer this".

"Do not rail at him as yet", I said, "for you should not exult in the beauty of your speech before the arguments have been concluded on both sides, especially when your debate is to secure truth not praise. Although your argument pleased me greatly by its subtle variety, still I am more deeply moved not concerning the present deliberation, but concerning ^{the} argument as a whole, for often evident truth is subverted in proportion to the skill and eloquence of those disputing. It is generally understood that this comes about from the readiness of the hearers to agree without choice with every thing that is said. By the allurements of words their attention is called from an observation of facts so that they do not separate the true from the false, not knowing that often there is truth in the unbelievable and lies in what seems like the truth. So the oftener they believe those who talk rather seriously, the more frequently they are deceived by the skilled; so, continually deluded because of their own rashness, instead of blaming their judgment they complain of everything as uncertain, condemn the opinions of all and prefer to keep everything in doubt rather than to pass judgment on the false. Then you must see to it that we are not troubled so with a distaste for all discussion for the same reason, as very many of the more artless come to hate and abominate all men. For these careless and credulous souls are deceived by those whom they consider good. Soon by similar mistake they suspect everyone of a like intent and they fear as evil even those whom they can see are the most excellent. Since in every question there are two sides and in one side the truth is much obscured and

on the other side there may be remarkable subtlety which sometimes counterfits admitted proof by its copiousness of speaking, let us be on guard and ponder over each point as deeply as possible so that we can praise even keen argument, but approve, choose and understand what is true.

"You are departing from the duty of a conscientious judge", said Caecilius, "for it is quite wrong for you to weaken the strength of my case by the digression of so weighty a character. Whatever I have said Octavius should have whole and unimpaired to refute if he can".

"That which you censure in me", I replied, "was spoken, if I am not mistaken, for the common benefit, so that, by scrupulous consideration we may weigh each argument according to its own intrinsic value and not as it is amplified by eloquence. You complain of the delay and properly, since now we desire to hear without interruption the response of our Januaris."

Octavius began, "As far as I am concerned, I shall speak in accordance with my powers and you must help me waste away the foul pollution of false statements with a flood of true words. In the first place I shall not conceal the fact that the argument of my Natalis, vague and elusive, so wavered that I was in doubt whether he had lost his skill or was distracted by the error of his opinions. For he was not consistent now believing in the gods, now doubting, so that the trend of our answer becomes more uncertain with the uncertainty of his position. But I do not wish to imply subtlety in my Natalis nor do I believe that there is; deceit is so far removed from his natural simplicity. What then? Just as a

man who does not know the right path where roads fork, hesitates anxiously and dares neither choose one nor try all, so if a man has no fixed anchor of truth, as soon as his wavering belief in one matter is broken from its moorings, his uncertain mind is quite at sea. It is no wonder that he is repeatedly tossed, fluctuates and wavers among contrary and opposing opinions. That this may continue no longer I shall refute his arguments and convince him with mine. Although what he said is in opposition yet they are proved by truth alone for in other matters he should not doubt or hesitate.

"Since my brother has forcibly stated that he is vexed, angry, indignant and pained because the poor ignorant and unlearned discuss celestial matters, let him know that all men without distinction of age or sex are created, adapted to and capable of dignity, reason and thought not born by chance, but endowed by nature with wisdom. Nay even the philosophers themselves and whoever else, celebrated as discoverers of arts, come to your mind, were considered common, uneducated and poorly dressed before they gained fame of name from their astuteness of mind. Furthermore the rich fettered by abundance are wont to regard gold more than to contemplate the heavens, while our poor advance knowledge and communicate their doctrines to others. Evidently genius is not granted to the rich or to be gained by study, but is one with the very formation of the mind. And so there is nothing to be considered as unworthy or to be regretted, if anyone who is seeking knowledge concerning ^{the} divine, brings forth an opinion, since not the personal authority of the arguer,

but the truth of the argument is the question at issue. Further, the more crude the words the more forceful the argument, since it is not colored by a display of eloquence and grace, but as it stands, is measured by the rule of truth.

I do not deny what Caecilius has tried to defend in particular, that man should know himself and investigate what he is, whence he is and why he is; whether he is a condensation of elements or a union of atoms or made, formed and animated by God. We cannot however investigate these matters without an examination of the universe, since they are so united, connected and coherent that unless you search out with diligence the method of the divine you are ignorant of the human, just as you cannot conduct civil affairs well unless you understand that state of the whole world, especially since we differ from wild beasts in this, that they prone and bent toward the ground are born to look for nothing but their food. But we to whom upright carriage and an outlook into the sky is granted and speech, reason, through which we know, feel and imitate God, for us it is neither right nor allowable that we ignore the celestial brightness thrust before our eyes and senses. For it is the very greatest sacrilege to seek in the ground what you should find in the sky. How much more do those seem to lack in mind sense or even sight who maintain that the decoration of the universe has not been perfected by divine reason, but has been heaped together without design from certain cohering particles. For what can be so plain and perfectly evident when you raise your eyes to the sky and when you look at what is here below about you, as that there is some dominate reason by which all nature is

inspired, moved, nourished and ruled? Observe how widely the sky extends and how rapidly it is whirled about, how it is distinguished at night by the stars and is lighted by day by the sun: now you know how wonderful and divine a balance is maintained by the supreme Ruler. Notice how the course of the sun makes the year and that of the moon with its increase, wane and eclipse the month. Why need I mention the recurrent changes of light and darkness that there might be an alternate renewal of work and rest for us? A more detailed discussion of the stars must be left to the astrologers either the fact that they govern the course of navigation or that they indicate the time of ploughing and reaping. Each single body not only needs the greatest art and the most perfect reason to be created, exist and be arranged, but it is not even to be perceived or understood without the greatest skill and reason.

Since there is a regular variety in the order of the seasons and fruits, why is not spring with its flowers a proof of its author and creator, and summer also with its crops and the pleasing maturity of fall and winter which ripens the olive? This order would be easily disturbed unless maintained by Supreme Reason. What great foresight is shown in not having only winter oppress us with its cold or only summer scorch with its heat, but in bestowing the moderate temperature of spring and autumn so that by this interval the transition of the passing year may glide along hidden and harmless. See how the sea is shut in by the boundary of the shore. Observe what a variety of trees there are and how they are nourished from the depths of the earth. Notice the ocean and its tides. See how the fountains spring from unfailing veins

of water and how rivers always flow with restless waves. Why need I speak of the steep mountains, the slopes of the hills and the level stretches of the plains? Or why need I mention the multiform protection of animals against each other? Some are armed with horns, some protected by teeth, some have hoofs, some are bristly with spines, and some have means of escape in fleetness of foot or by flying. The very beauty of our own form confesses God as the Creator. Our firm and upright carriage, our eyes placed in our head as in a watch tower and the rest of the senses placed in a citadel as it were.

It is tedious to go into details. There are none of the members which are not made both for necessity and beauty. What is more wonderful, everyone does not have the same features, but definite lineaments are shaped for each person, so that we seem alike as a whole, but as individuals we are found to differ from one another. What about the reason of birth? Has not a desire of generation been given by God, so that the breasts gradually fill with milk as the foetus matures and the tender babe is nourished with a store of moisture.

God not only plans for the universe, but even for its parts. Britain lacks sunshine but is kept in good condition by the warmth of the sea flowing around it. The river Nile tempers the dryness of Egypt, the Euphrates compensates Mesopotamia for lack of rain, the Indus river is said both to sow and water the Orient. Then again if you should enter any home and should see everything prepared, arranged and decorated, you would surely believe that a master had charge of it and that he was by far better than these

good arrangements. And so, in this house of the universe, when gazing over the sky and earth you see the care, order and law, [believ believe that there is a Master and Creator of the universe, himself more beautiful than the very stars and parts of the whole world. This must be so unless perchance, since there is no doubt concerning providence, you think we must seek to know whether the rule of one or the will of many governs the celestial kingdom. It is not a matter of much labor to make this clear from a consideration of earthly rule from which we can explain celestial. When did kingdom either begin with mutual trust or end without blood shed? I pass over the Persians, choosing a leader from the neighing of horses and I omit the story of the Thebans. On account of the rule of shepherds and a cabin, the memory of the twins is most famous. The war between a father-in-law and son-in-law was spread over the whole world and fortune did not select two to enjoy such power. Take other examples, the bees have one king, the flocks one leader, cattle one head. Still you would believe that the highest power in the sky is divided and the whole authority of that true and divine government belongs to many, although it is evident that God is the Parent of all, nor has he any beginning or end but gives life to all, everlasting in himself, sole master even before the world was. He commands everything, what ever it may be, by his word, he manages it with his reason and brings it to completion with his goodness. He cannot be seen; He is brighter than sight. He cannot be felt; He is too pure to be touched. He cannot be conceived; He is greater than the senses can imagine. His greatness is known to Himself alone. Our mind is too narrow to understand him. Therefore we think of Him worthily only when we say that he is

unknowable. I shall speak as I feel. He who thinks he can know the magnitude of God diminishes it. He who does not wish to lessen it, does not know. You should seek no name for God; God is the name. There is need of designation when a multitude must be designated by a mark of address peculiar to each one. For God, who is alone, the name God is all sufficient. If I should call him Father, you would think him carnal, if king, you would suspect earthly power, if master, you would believe him mortal. Remove his name and you will see His brightness. What of the fact that I have in my side universal ~~argument~~ ^{argument} concerning him. I hear the common people, when they raise their hands to the sky, say nothing but "God" and "God is great" and "God is true" and "if God should grant". Are those words natural to the common people or are they those of a confessed Christian? He who maintains that Juppiter is the ruler differs only in name, but agrees concerning one power.

I hear the poets also speak of "one Father of Gods and men" and say that the mind of mortals is such as the Parent of all gives." What of Virgil of Mantua? Does he not say frankly and with great truth that in the beginning an inner spirit nourishes the sky, earth and other parts of the world and that a mind, infused, rules it, whence is the race of man, beasts and whatever other animate creatures there are? In another place he calls that same mind and spirit God; for these are his words; "For God permeates everything, lands, sea and the deep sky whence is the race of men and beasts, whence fire and water." What else do we speak of as God except intelligence and rational spirit? Let us if you please, examine closely the teachings of the philosophers. You will learn

that in respect to these matters they unite in the same opinion although they vary in their expression of the idea. I omit those ancient and uncultured philosophers who deserved to be considered wise from their utterances. Let Thales of Miletus who discussed the divine be first of all. This Thales moreover said that mist was the beginning of everything and that God was that mind which forced everything from mist. Granting that the intelligent force residing in mist is a finer and more exalted nature than can be discovered by man and that it had its source in God, then you see the belief of the first philosophers agrees wholly with ours. Next Anaximenes and after him Diogenes the Apollonian maintained that the infinite and continuous air was God. Their thought concerning divinity is like our own. The activity and movement of an infinite mind according to Anaxagoras is God and the God of Pythagoras is a mind permeating all nature, from which the life of all animals is derived. It is known that Xenophanes taught that everything infinite combined with mind was God and Antithenes that there were many popular gods but one God in nature. Spensippus knew God as a force or animal nature by which everything is ruled. What of Democritus? Although he was the inventor of the theory of atoms, did he not often say that God was the nature and intelligence which produced these? Did not even Straton himself place nature at the head? Even that well known Epicurus who made the gods either idle or non existent still placed nature above all. Aristotle has various opinions, but still designates one power. For now he says mind, now the universe is divine and now places a god over the universe. Heraclides of Pontus ascribed mind to a God although in

manifold phrases. Theophrastus has various opinions now attributing prominence to the world, now to some divine mind. Zeno, Chrysippus and Cleanthes have many opinions but all unite in the idea of providence; for Cleanthes treats now the mind, now the soul, now the aether and sometimes reason as divine. Zeno, his teacher, maintains that natural law is also divine, making sometimes reason, sometimes aether the chief of all things. This same man by interpreting Juno as air, Juppiter as sky, Neptune as sea, Vulcan as fire and by showing the other popular gods similarly to be elements, refutes and seriously checks the public error. Chrysippus believes practically the same. He thinks that a divine strength, a rational nature, and at times the world and necessity is God. He imitates Zeno in a physiological interpretation of the verses of Hesiod, Homer and Orpheus. This is the teaching of Diogenes of Babylonia in explaining and discussing the birth of Juppiter and of Minerva. He says that this class of gods is simply other names of things not of gods. Xenophanes following Socrates said that the form of the true God could not be seen and therefore ought not be sought. Ariston the Stoic thought that He could not be understood at all. Both perceived the majesty of God in the hopelessness of understanding him. Plato's words concerning God, matter, names, and what everything celestial is, would be clearer if he did not here and there mistify his argument by an appeal to civil affairs. To Plato in the *Timaeus* God is in His own name Parent of the earth and Creator of life, deviser of heaven and earth whom, he says, is both exceedingly difficult to discover and of omnipotent power and when you do find Him, it is impossible to describe Him in public. Our

belief is almost the very same, for we both know God and say that He is the Creator of all, but never, unless asked, mention Him in public. I have now made known the views of nearly all the more famous philosophers. We learn that they even designate one God though by many names so that anyone can see that either the Christians are philosophers now or the philosophers were Christians then.

But if the world is ruled by providence and is governed by the nod of one divinity, antiquity pleased and held by its own myths ought not to compel us to give assent to common error, since it is refuting the opinion of its own philosophers whom the authority of both reason and age supports. Our ancestors had such a ready faith in lies that they rashly believed even the stories of other monstrous things -- mere marvels -- the manifold Scylla, the multiformed Chimaera, Hydra reborn after fortunate wounds, the Centaur combining horse and man. Whatever rumor might invent, they heard eagerly. What about those fabulous tales of men changed into birds, beasts and flowers? If once they were, they would be now. Because they cannot be, they will not be nor ever have been. Similarly our ancestors were mistaken about the gods. Foolish and credulous, they believed with simplicity born of ignorance; while they religiously worshipped their kings and while they wished to see them in images after death and while they took pleasure in their memory in statues, rites became sacred which had been taken up as consolation. Finally before the world was opened up to commerce and before the nations mingled rites and customs, each nation venerated its founder, its famous leader, its virtuous queen, braver than her

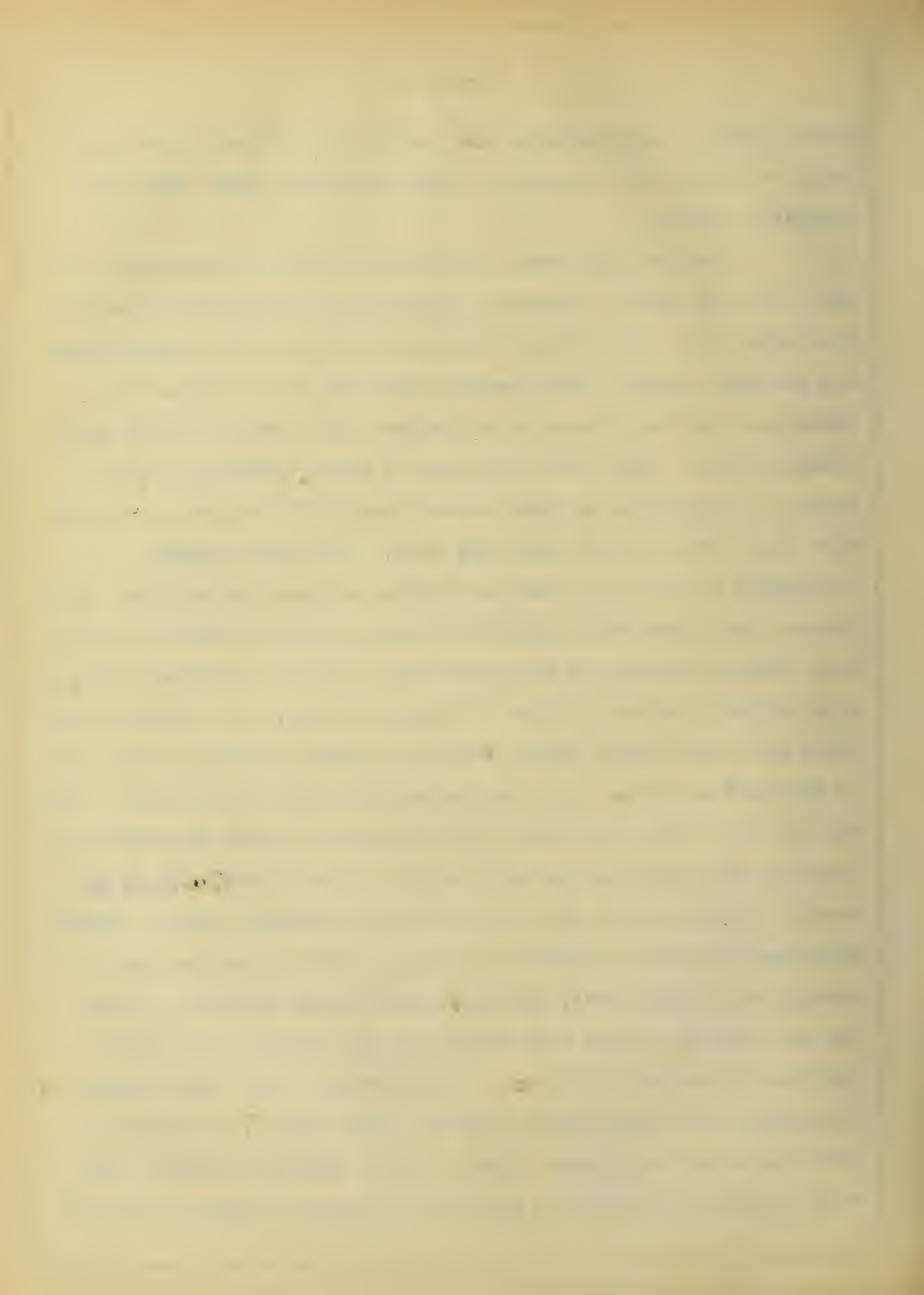
sex, or the discoverer of some benefit or art as a citizen worthy to be remembered; in this way a reward was given to the dead and an example to posterity. Read the works of the historians or of the philosophers and you will agree with me. Euhemerus describes those who are considered gods because of their virtues and deeds; he enumerates their births, days, countries, and burial places in the provinces. He makes mention of Cretan Juppiter, of Delphian Apollo, of Pharean Isis and of Eleusinian Ceres. Prodicus speaks of men who discovered new means of ploughing and so were of use to men, as being taken into the number of the gods. ~~Persians~~ philosophizes in the same way and joins the discovered produce with its discoverer and calls them by the same names; as the comic verse goes, "Venus would freeze without Liber and Ceres." Alexander, the great Macedonian wrote to his mother in a famous letter that from fear of his own power the secret concerning deified men was made known to him by a priest: he names Vulcan chief of all and afterward the race of Juppiter. For all the writers of antiquity both Greek and Roman proclaim Saturn, the first of his race and tribe, a man. Nepos and Cassius say so in their histories and Thallus and Diodorus confirm them. And so Saturn fled from Crete to Italy from fear of his cruel son and when he received the hospitality of Janus, as a polished Greek he taught the wild and uncultivated men to write, to coin money and ^{to} make tools. And so he desired his hiding place to be called ~~Saturn~~ ^{LATUM} because he hid there safely. He founded the city of Saturnia from his name and Janus Janiculum from his. Both left them to the memory of posterity. It was certainly a man who fled and a man who hid, a father of men and of human origin. He was

called the son of earth and sky because among the Italians his parents were unknown: just as at this day we speak of persons seen unexpectedly as dropped from the sky; and we call those earth-born, who are of ignoble or unknown birth. Juppiter, the son of Saturn, reigned in Crete when he had driven out his parent; he had sons; he died. Still the cave of Juppiter is visited, his tomb is shown and by these very sacred rites he is proved to have been human.

It is tiresome to take up individuals and to explain all of this class since the mortality proved in the case of the first parents comes upon the rest in the very order of succession; unless, perchance, you make them gods after death and by the perjury of Proculus call Romulus a god, with the consent of the Moors, Juba also and the rest of the kings divine who are consecrated not according to faith in divinity but to honor ~~of~~ past power. This name is given to them without their consent: they prefer to continue as men, they fear to become gods, although now they do not wish to be, even in old age. Therefore gods cannot be from the dead since gods cannot die, nor from those who are born since everything which is born, dies: moreover that is divine which has neither birth nor death. But why, if they have been born, are they not born today? Unless perchance Juppiter has grown old and Juno lacks children and Minerva childless has grown gray or unless even that kind of generation has ceased since there is no credence given to stories of this sort. Besides if gods could be born and could not die we would have more gods than men so that the sky could not contain them nor the air hold them nor the earth bear them. Whence it is evident that those were men whom we have read were born and of

whose death we have knowledge ~~of~~. And you rush into those things which pertain to the worship of Isis and to the empty tombs of Serapis or Osiris.

Consider then these very sacred rites and mysteries. You will find sad deaths, funerals, mourning and lamentations for the miserable gods. Isis mourns the loss of her son with Cynocephilus and her bald priests. She laments and seeks him. The poor Isiacians tear their breasts and imitate the sorrow of their most unhappy mother. When the little boy is found, Cynocephilus, the finder, is praised nor do they cease through all the years to lose what they find and find what they lose. Is it not equally ridiculous to mourn for what you cherish and cherish what you mourn? However these once were Egyptian rites and now are Roman. Ceres with lighted torches and with her dragon anxiously follows Liber, deceived and overcome. There is the goat nurse, the removal of the child from its jealous father lest it be eaten up and the jangling of Corybantine cymbals lest the father hear his child's cries. Do not the very forms and looks of your gods show their unworthiness? Vulcan a lame and disabled God, Apollo so young, Aesc^lapius full bearded although he is the son of the ever youthful Apollo, Neptune with sparkling eyes, Minerva with gray, Juno with oxlike ones. Mercury with winged feet, Pan ho^ofed and Saturn shackled. Janus has two faces as though when walking he was looking behind him. Sometimes Diana is the high~~ly~~ girded huntress, then again Ephesia is sculptured with large and full breast, then Trivia^{is} horrible with three heads and many hands. What of your Juppiter himself? Now he is represented without a beard, now bearded. When he is called



Hammon he has a horn, when Captolius he bears the thunderbolt and when Latiarius, he streams with blood and when Feretrius he is struck by the hand but is not heard. That I may not spend too much time on Juppiter's many forms, I shall say that he has as many forms as names. Erigine hanged herself that she might be placed as Virgo among the stars. The Castor brothers die alternately that they may live. Aesc̄lapius was struck by lightning that he might rise among the gods. Hercules was burned by Aetnean fires that he might lay aside his humanity.

We learn these mistaken stories from our untaught parents and what is worse we ourselves elaborate them by study and practice, but especially from the verses of poets who greatly injure the truth because of their authority. Plato himself expelled famous, praised, crowned Homer from his ideal state on the ground that he especially made sport of your gods in the Trojan war, that he mixed them in human affairs, that he matched them against each other, that he wounded Venus, fettered, wounded and put Mars to flight. He tells of Juppiter freed by Briareus that he might not be bound by the rest of the gods and says that he wept bitter tears because his son Sarpedon could not escape death. At another place, Hercules, cleared away the manure and Apollo fed the flocks of Admetus. Neptune built walls for Laomedon nor did the unhappy builder receive pay for his work. Vulcan constructed the thunderbolt of Juppiter and the arms of Aeneas on his anvil although sky, lightning and thunderbolt existed long before Juppiter was born in Crete, nor was the Cyclops ever able to imitate the flames of true lightning nor was Juppiter fearless. All these stories are handed down for this

purpose, that a certain authority ~~be~~ provided for the faults of men. By these tales, by fabrications of the same sort and by sweet deceit, the character of children is corrupted. With these same legends still clinging, they come to maturity and in their misery in the same belief they grow old, although the truth is plain to those seeking it. Who then doubts that the common people pray to consecrated images and publicly worship them when ignorant mind and belief is beguiled by the beauty of art, is dazzled by the gleam of gold and held ~~fast~~ by the lustre of silver and ^{by} the whiteness of ivory. But if anyone thinks with what pains and contrivance every image is formed, he will blush to ~~see~~ ^{see} material made sport of by the devisor to make a god. For a wooden god, perchance a part of a funeral pyre or an unfortunate log, is hung up, sawed, cut and smoothed. A golden or silver god is produced from a filthy vessel, as we hear one was made for an Egyptian king, ^{it is} ~~it is~~ is pounded with hammers and constructed upon a forge. A stone god is cut, scraped and finished by impure man, but it does not feel the wrong of its birth just as it does not afterward feel the honor of your worship, unless, perchance, the stone, wood or silver is not yet a god. When then is he born? Behold him formed, fashioned and sculptured. He is not yet a god. Behold him soldered, put together and in place. Not then is he a god. Behold him crowned, consecrated and prayed to. Then, finally he is a God, when man wishes him to be and has dedicated him.

How much more truly do dumb animals judge concerning your gods. Mice, swallows and kites know that your gods do not feel. They gnaw, walk over and settle upon them, and, unless you drive

them away nest in the very mouths of your gods. Spiders cover up their faces and even hang webs from their very heads. You wipe off, cleanse, scrape and protect the gods which you have made, and fear them, while each one of you does not understand that he ought to know God before he worships Him. While they take pleasure in unadvisedly obeying their parents, while they prefer to accept another's opinion rather than trust to themselves, they know none of those things which they fear. So in gold and silver, avarice is consecrated, so the form of their lifeless statues is dedicated, so Roman superstition is born.

If you thoroughly investigate their ceremonies, how many are laughable, how many a cause for pity. Some priests run about half clad in cruel winter, some wear caps, some carry around old shields, some lacerate the skin, some carry their begging gods through the streets. Certain shrines you are permitted to visit once a year, certain ones it is wrong ~~to~~ ever ^{to} see, some at which no men are allowed, some are denied to women, in some ceremonies it is a wrong that must be expiated for a slave to be present.

And still you say that this very superstition gave, increased and established Roman power, since they prevailed not so much by bravery as by religion and piety. Doubtless that noble and far famed Roman justice was consecrated by auspices from the very beginning of their power. At the founding of the city, were they not brought together by their crimes and have they not increased because their crimes inspired terror? For the earliest settlers came together for an asylum. There they met the ruined, the criminal, the lawless, murderers, traitors and the incestuous, and

that Romulus himself might preside over the people as commander and director in crime, he committed murder. These were the earliest auspices in this religious state. Soon he ~~sized~~ girls of another tribe some betrothed, some promised; some young married women ~~he~~ abused ~~and~~ maltreated ^{and} ~~he~~ took from their husbands. When they made war on the girls' parents, that is with their fathers-in-law, they spilled the blood of relatives. What could be bolder, more disgraceful, more sacrilegious than the very audacity of their crime? To drive neighbors from their land, to overturn nearby states along with their temples and altars, to lead away captives, to grow by foreign damage and their own crime was the common practice of Romulus and all the rest of the kings and leaders. So whatever the Romans hold, cherish and possess is the prize of boldness. All their temples are booty, that is taken from the ruin of cities, from the spoils of gods, from the slaughter of priests. To have faith in conquered religions and worship conquered gods after a victory is derision and mockery. For to adore what you take by force is to consecrate sacrilege not divinity. Therefore as often as the Romans ~~have~~ held a triumph, so ~~a~~ often have they committed sacrilege; as often as they have taken trophies from different tribes, so often have they dispoiled the gods. Then the Romans did not obtain such power because they were religious but because they were sacrilegious with impunity. For they could not have as allies gods against whom they had taken up arms and whom they began to worship only after they had conquered them. What moreover could these gods do for the Romans, when they were of no avail to their own people against Roman arms?

We know the native Roman gods, Romulus, Picus, Tiberinus, Consus, Pilumnus and Volumnus. Tatius discovered and worshipped Cloacina, Hostilius, Pavor and Pallor; soon some one or other Febris. Such is the native religion of this city, sickness and poor health. Indeed Acca Larentia and Flora, shameful wantons, must be numbered among the ^{disgraceful} ~~diseases~~ ~~as~~ gods of the Romans. These, I suppose, advanced the Roman power against the other gods who were worshipped among the tribes. For Thracian Mars or Cretan Juppiter or Juno now Argive, now Samian, now Phoenecian or Tauric Diana, or Mater now Idaean or Egyptian not divinities but fictitious beings never aided the Romans against their own people.

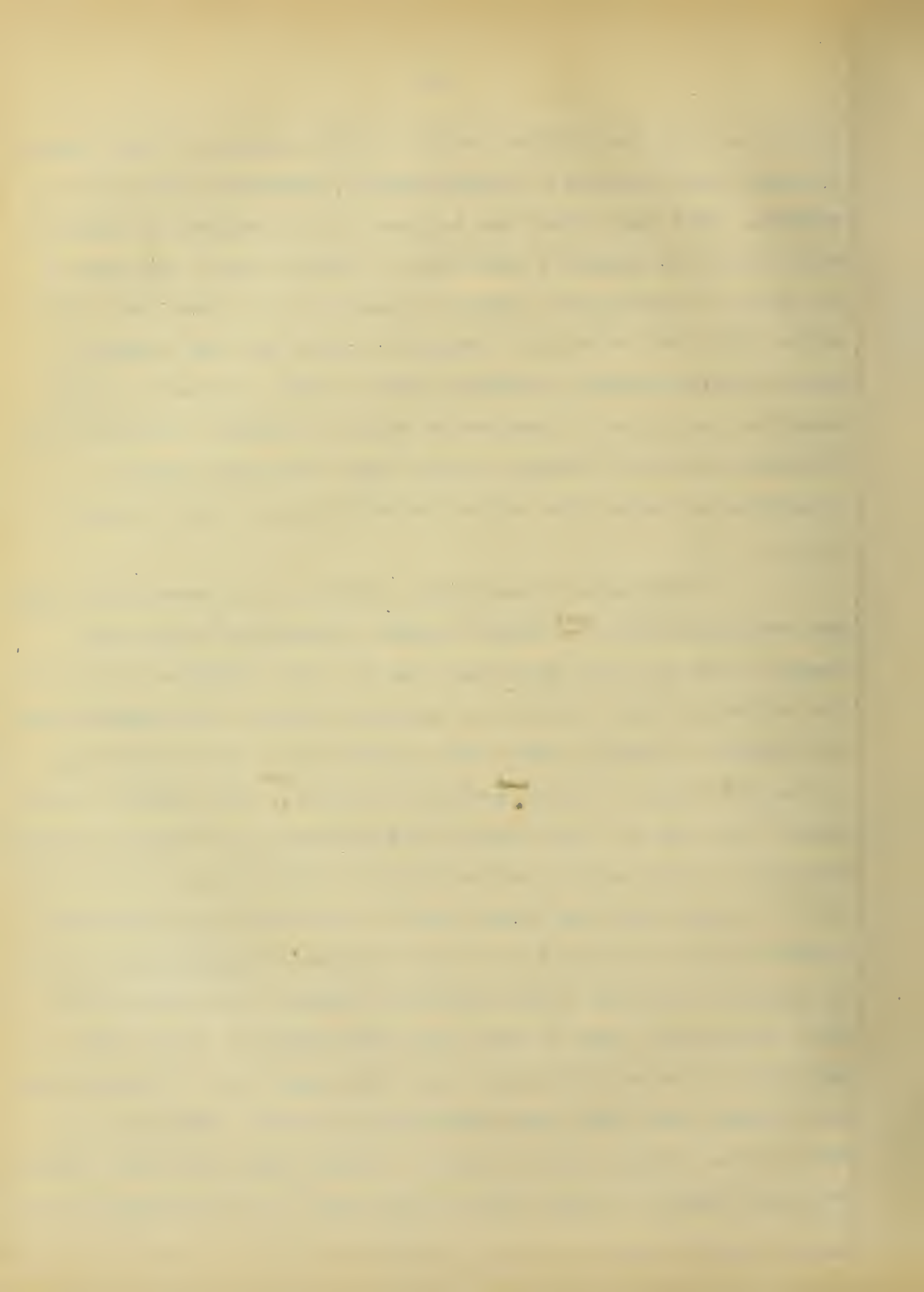
For now I am coming to those auspices and auguries which you have collected with such care in support of your proposition that there was cause to regret their having been neglected, and cause to ascribe success to their having been observed. Clodius, indeed, Flaminius and Junius lost their armies because they did not consider the tripodium of the chickens of enough importance to be awaited. What about Regulus? Did he not observe the auguries and was he not captured? Mancinus took the auspices, surrendered and was put under the yoke. Paulus had gluttonous chickens, but at Cannae was overcome with a great part of the Roman people. Gaius Caesar, lest he might not get his ships across to Africa before winter, scorned the auguries when they were holding him back. He sailed across the more easily and won. How far must I follow out these oracles? Amphiaraus told what was going to happen after death, but he did not know that he was going to be betrayed by his wife on account of a necklace. Tiresias, blind, saw the future when he

could not see the present. Ennius feigned a response of Pythian Apollo concerning Pyrrus, although the God had already ceased making verses. That cautious and ambiguous oracle of his failed when men became more polished and less credulous. Demosthenes, because he knew the answers were a mere pretense, complained that Pythia was on Philip's side. But sometimes auspices or oracles hit the truth. Although among so many lies shrewd guesses are possible, I approach however the very source of error and sin whence all that obscurity has arisen, to destroy it the more thoroughly, to make it the plainer.

There are lying, wandering spirits unable to attain heavenly vigor because of earthly defilement and desires. These spirits then after they have lost the simplicity of their substance, weighed down and oppressed by their sins, as a solace for this calamity, do not desist from working evil and, depraved, do not cease devoting themselves to error; alienated from God, they keep separating themselves from Him since they are led on by their distorted religion. The poets know that these evil spirits are demons; and so the philosophers assert; Socrates knew it since he declined or entered upon business at the nod and beck of his presiding genius. The Magi not only are acquainted with demons but through them accomplish their tricks. By their inspiration and influence, they produce their deceptions, make seem to be that which is not, and not to be that which is. Hostanes, first of these Magi in eloquence and skill, accepted the true God, ascribed to Him adorable majesty and believed that His angels, that is, his servants and messengers, look upon the throne of the true God and are in awe

of Him, so that fearing they tremble in the presence of their Master. This same man told also of demons earthly, wandering and hostile to mankind. What about Plato who believed it his business to discover God? Did he not speak of angels and of demons alike? And does he not strive to explain the nature of demons in his symposium? For he thinks they are a substance between the mortal and the immortal, that is, midway between corporeal and spirtual, a mixture of the human and the divine. Therefore he warns us against the desire for love and says that it takes form and takes possession of the affections and moves them and counterfeits passion and increases desire.

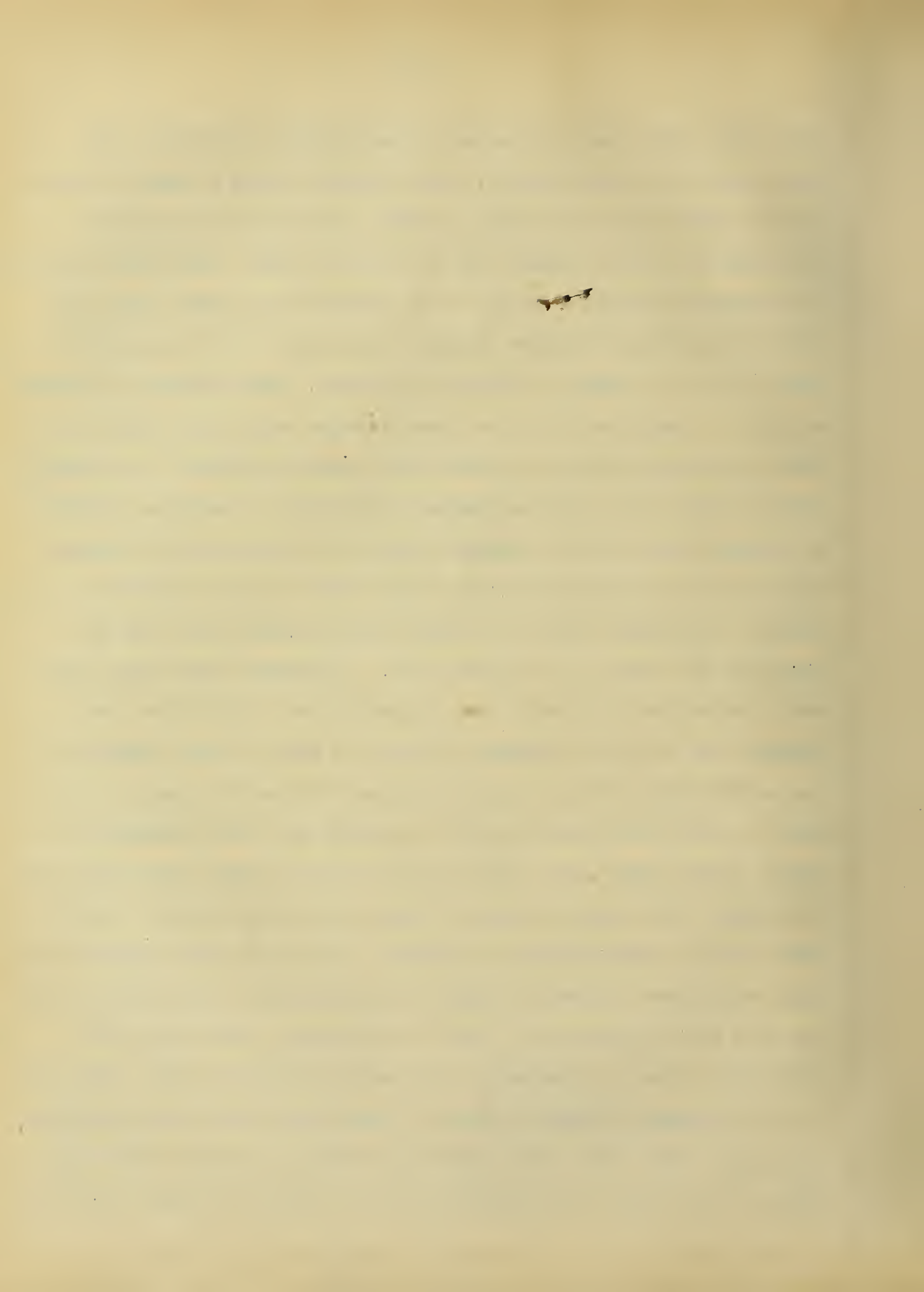
27. Therefore these impure spirits, as is shown by the Magi and the philosophers, ^{are} ~~be~~ hidden beneath consecrated statues and images of the gods and gain power from the very breath as it were of the present divinity; while they sometimes inspire the prophets when they linger in temples, while they control the fibers of the exta, govern the flight of birds, ^{and} ~~and~~ preside over lots, ^{and} ~~and~~ utter oracles, mostly false. For they are both deceived and deceiving, as both not knowing the sincere truth and not confessing what they do know to their own loss. So they fall from heaven and the true God, devote themselves to the material, disturb life, trouble dreams, creeping into bodies by stealth as spirits, they counterfeit sickness, they terrify the mind, disturb the limbs so that they force people to their cult. Nourished by the odor of altars and by the sacrifice of flocks, they seem to cure when they loose what they have bound. These are they whom you see running about in public, priests away from their temples, frenzied, bereft of reason and whirling about. The instigation of the



demon in them is the same as in other cases but the evidence of the possession is different. These beings are the causes of the events which you mentioned a short time ago; that Juppiter by a dream should ask to have his games repeated, that ~~Ed~~astor and Pollux should appear on horseback, that the little boat should follow the belt of the matron. ~~The~~ Most of you know that demons of their own free will confess all these things as often as you drive them from your bodies with burning torment of word and speech. Saturn himself and Juppiter and Serapis and whatever demon you worship, conquered by pain, speak out what they are, nor certainly do they lie for their own disgrace when some of you are present especially. Trust these witnesses confessing that these are demons. Adjured through the true and only God, unwilling, miserable they tremble in the body and either immediately leap out or gradually fade away according to whether the faith of the patient aids or the skill of the physician influences. So they avoid Christians nearby, whom, at a distance from their assemblies, they harm through you. Therefore in their fear, taking possession of the minds of the ignorant, they implant hatred of us. For it is natural to hate what you fear and to harm the man whom you fear, if you can. So they preoccupy the minds and hearts so that men begin to hate us before they know us ~~lest~~ if they knew us, they might imitate or at least not condemn us.

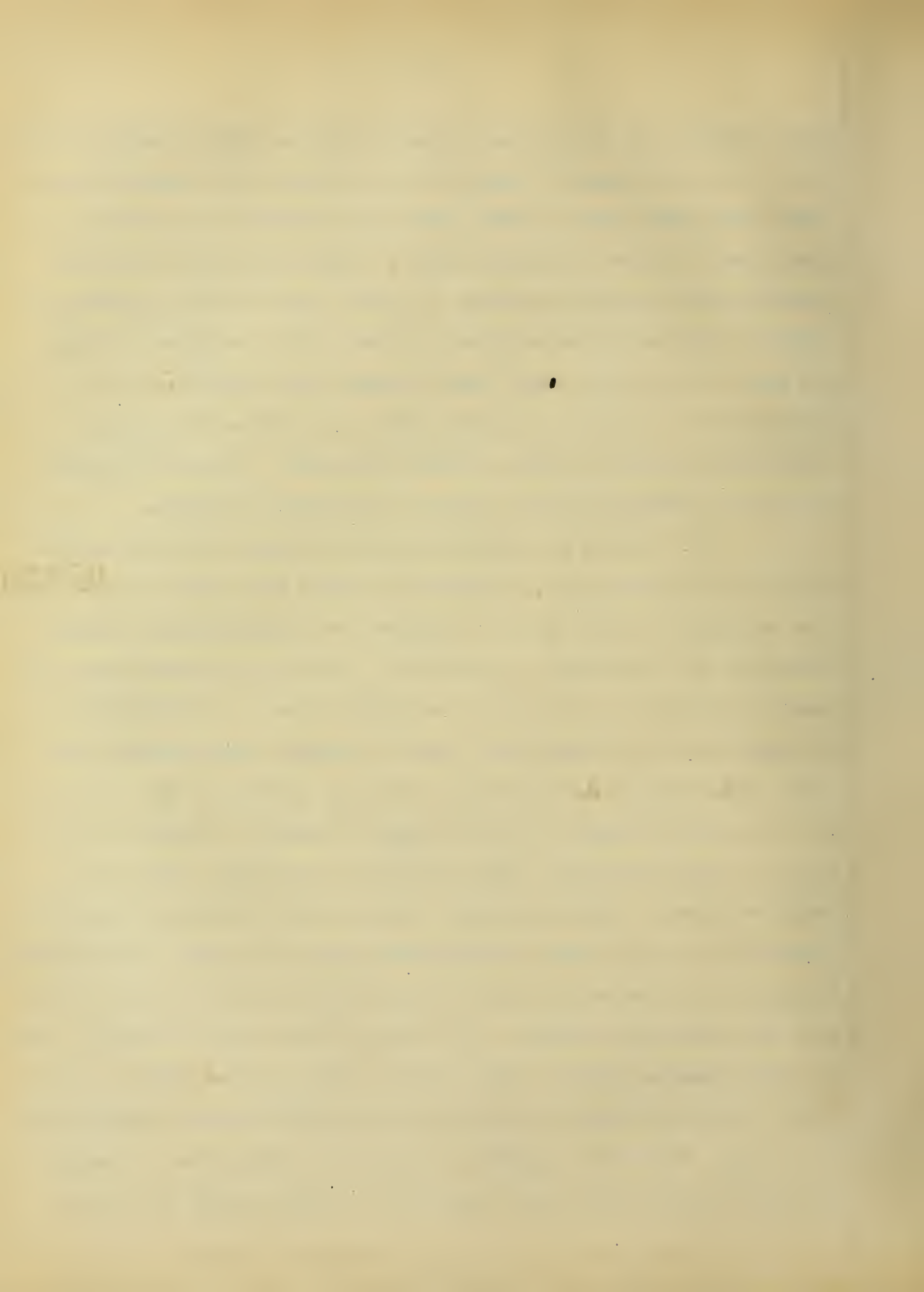
28. Trust to us who are repenting of what you are now doing, that is is unjust to judge what is unknown and uninvestigated. For we too have done the same thing and once blind and stupid felt the same as you, just as if Christians worshipped monstrous things, devoured children, indulged in incest at banquets. Nor did we

understand that such stories are always being circulated, but never proved or investigated. Nor during so long a time has there been any one either expecting to gain pardon for his deeds or gratitude for his evidence, who has proved them. Furthermore we did not understand that it is not to be considered a crime that the Christian defendant neither blushes nor fears, but only regrets that he has not become a Christian earlier. Nevertheless, although we used to recognize that some sacrilegious and wicked people and even parricides must be protected and legally defended, we thought that we must never hear the accused Christians; sometimes pitying, we treated them with the utmost cruelty that we might by torture compel those confessing to deny their faith, so they might not perish, practicing upon them unfair questioning which does not bring out the truth, but forces lies. If someone weak with pain, hard pressed and overcome, denied that he was a Christian, we favored him, as if by cursing the name he also cleared himself of his sins by the denial. Do you not see that we felt and did just what you are feeling and doing? If reason not the instigation of demons should judge, they should not be urged to deny that they are Christians, but inquiry should be made concerning incest, unholy rites and the sacrificing of children. With just such stories, the same demons have filled the ears of the ignorant against us to the end that men may curse us. Nor is it strange, since rumor is always nourished by scattered lies and consumed by truth, that such is the business of demons. For by them false stories are sowed and nourished. From them comes the story that you say you hear that among us the head of the ass is divine. Who is so stupid that he



would worship it? Who is more stupid still so that he would believe that it was worshipped? Unless this is because you consecrate all asses along with your or their Epona, and because you decorate the same asses with the religious rites of Isis and because you both sacrifice and worship the heads of cattle and rams and because you dedicate gods half boar half man and gods with the faces of lions and dogs. Do you not ~~even~~ feed and adore the bull Apis as the Egyptians do? Nor do you condemn their ceremonies with snakes, crocodiles and other beasts, fishes and birds. If any one should kill any of these so called gods, he is punished by death.

29. Because you ascribe to our religion the worship of a guilty man and his cross, you wander far from the truth in ~~their king~~ ^{thinking} that malfactor or mere man has deserved or obtained divine honors. Certainly he is pitiable who rests all his hopes on mortal man; for then all his aid is ended with the death of man. The Egyptians to be sure choose for themselves a man to worship, they appease him, they consult him on ~~all~~ matters, they slay victims to him. But he who is a god to others is surely a man to himself, whether he will or not. For he does not beguile his own conscience, even if he deceives others. False adulation disgracefully flatters kings and princes not as great and distinguished men, as is right, but as gods, although to a famous man honor is more sincerely paid and to a very good man, love more readily. So they call upon their divinity, pray to their images, implore their spirits, that is ~~their~~ demons. It is safer for them to swear falsely by the genius ^{of} Juppiter than by that of a king. We neither cherish, crosses nor desire them. Clearly you who worship wooden gods, consecrate wooden crosses as a part



perhaps of your gods. For what else are the very ensigns, banners and standards of your camps but crosses gilded and ornamented. Your victorious trophies resemble not only the form of a cross, but also of a man fixed to it. Naturally we see the sign of a cross in a ship when it is borne along with swelling sails, when it glides along with oars. When the yoke is raised, there is the sign of the cross and when a devout man with outstretched hands worships God. So either natural reason depends on the sign of the cross or your religion is influenced by it.

I should like to meet the man who says or believes that we initiate either by murder of infants or by blood. Can you believe that so soft and small a body can receive so many wounds? Can you believe that anyone spills, pours out and drinks the blood of a young child? No one could believe this unless he would dare to do it himself. This may be for I see you expose your new borne children or strangle them, a terrible death. These practices most certainly arise from the teachings of your gods; for Saturn did not expose his sons, but ate them. With good reason, to him in some parts of Africa infants are sacrificed by their parents, blandishments and kisses stifling their cries lest the sacrifice become unauspicious because of their weeping. It was a rite of the Pontic Taurians and of Egyptian Busiris to sacrifice strangers; of the Gauls, to slay victims human, yes inhuman to Mercury and for the Romans to assign a Greek man and woman and a Gallic man and woman as living sacrifices. To-day Juppiter Latianus is worshipped with the death of a man and what is quite fitting for the son of Saturn, is fed by the blood of a criminal. I believe that he taught

Catiline to plot with a pact of blood and Bellona to taint her temple with human sacrifice, to heal epilepsy with a cup of human blood, a remedy worse than the disease. Not dissimilar are those who eagerly eat wild beasts from the arena, smeared and daubed with blood or crammed with the limbs and bowels of men. In our sight, it is right neither to see or hear of the murder of a man and so far are we from human blood that we do not even taste the blood of animals which are used for food.

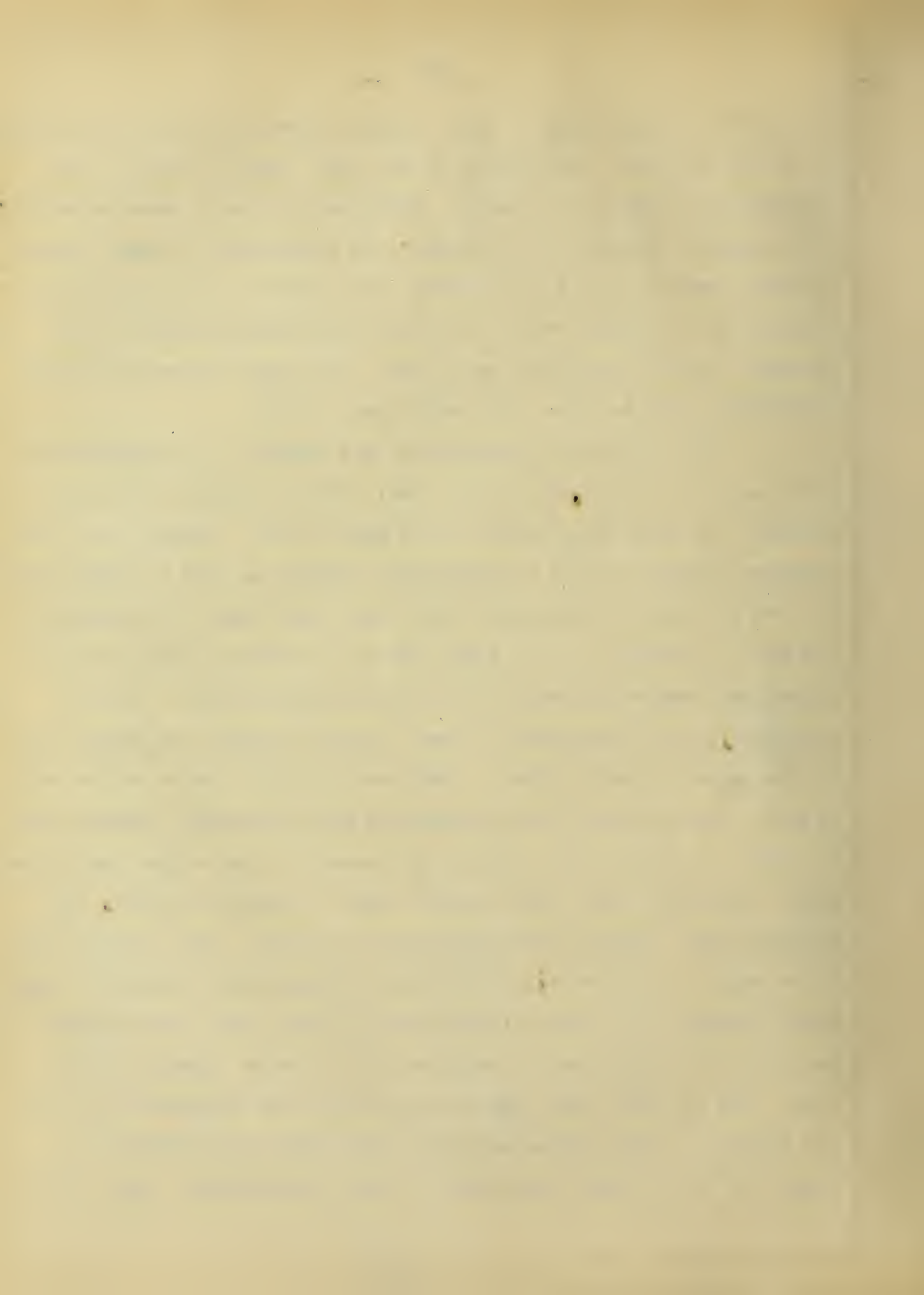
Nor are we on a level with the rabble, if we refuse your honors and fine raiment; nor are we seditious, if we all know one good, congregated in the same quiet which as individuals we observe, not garrulous in corners, since you either blush or fear to hear us in public. As to the fact that our number grows from day to day, it is not the evidence of sin but the proof of worth. For in a beautiful kind of living, our own members continue and strangers are attracted to us. So we easily know one another not by marks on the body as you think, but by the evidence of innocence and modesty. So we cherish each other with mutual love, a fact which you lament, because we do not know because we do not know how to hate. So we call each other brother, a custom which you despise, as children of one parent, as companions in faith and heirs of one common hope. For you do not know each other but hate each the other and do not recognize each other as brothers except for murder.

32. Do you think moreover that we hide what we worship if we do not have shrines and altars? For why should I make an image of God when, if you have a right conception, man himself is the image of God? What temple shall I erect to Him when the whole world made

by Him cannot contain Him? And when I, a man, "dwell more at large" why should I include the power of such majesty within a building? Is he not better worshipped in our minds? Nay is he not better consecrated in our very hearts? Shall I offer to God sacrifices of victims which he has produced for my use that I may despise his gift? Then he who fosters innocence prays to God; he who maintains justice, offers libations to God; he who abstains from fraud, propitiates God; he who snatches a man from danger, slays the best victim. These are our sacrifices, these are our sacred rites; so among us the more religious a man is the more just he is. But it is objected that we worship a God whom we neither show nor see. Nay we believe in God for this very reason that we are conscious that he exists and cannot see him. For in his works and in all the movements of the universe his power is ever manifest, when it thunders, when it lightens or when it is clear. Nor should you wonder if you do not see God. Everything is vibrated, moved and impelled by the breath of the wind yet we cannot see it. It is not possible to look at the sun by which we all see. The eye is injured, the vision is dulled and if one gazes too long all sight is lost. What! Could you bear the sight of the Creator of the sun, that source of its light when you turn aside from His lightning and hide from his thunderbolt? Do you think you have the strength to see God with natural eyes when you can neither see nor behold that spirit of yours, by which you live and speak? But you say God does not know the deeds of man and placed in the sky can neither be omnipresent nor know individuals. You are mistaken, O man, and deceived; for where is God then, when everything heavenly and earthly and whatever is beyond the limits of

the world is fully known to Him? On all sides he is not so much next us as all about us. Look again at the sun, fixed in the sky, but spreading its rays in all lands. Everywhere it is of equal splendor; it is equally infused in all things; its brightness is never injured. How much greater is God the Creator and Overseer of all, from whom nothing can be hidden, who is present in the darkness and in our thoughts, another darkness, as it were. Not only are we under His supervision, but we live, as I might say, in Him.

33. We are not flattered by our numbers. To ourselves we seem many, but to God, we are very few. We distinguish tribes and nations, but this whole world is one home to God. Rulers know their kingdoms through the aid of ministers, God has no need of assistants. We live not only in his sight, but in his very bosom. But you say "It was no advantage to the Jews that they worshipped one God with altars and temples and with the greatest superstition". In your ignorance, you are forgetful of their ancient history and think only of the events of later times. They knew our God, for he is the God of all. For as long as they worshipped Him innocently, chastely and devoutly, as long as they obeyed his commands, from a few they became many; from poor, rich; from slaves, kings; a moderate number, they overcame many; unarmed, they conquered the armed, while fleeing from their pursuers, by the will of God and his assisting elements. Read their records, or if you delight more in Roman works, that we may pass over the old, refer to Antonius and Julianus' History of the Jews. Now you will know that they deserved this fortune from their own iniquity, that nothing happened except what was predicted to happen to them if they persevered in their wickedness. And so you



will understand that they deserted him before he gave them up. They were not, as you wickedly say, captured along with their God, but were surrendered by their God as deserters of his teachings.

34. Furthermore, concerning the conflagration of the world, it is a mistake of the common people either to doubt or not to believe at all, that an unforeseen fire will fall upon them. But who of the philosophers doubts or who is ignorant of the fact that everything which is begun, ends and everything which is created, perishes. It is the belief of the Stoics that the sky along with all that it contains will perish by the force of fire when the sweet waters of the springs begin to cease supplying the seas, because, when all the moisture has been consumed this entire world will ignite. Epicurus held the same belief concerning the conflagration of the elements and the ruin of the world. Plato speaks similarly. He says that the parts of the world now are inundated, now burn. Where he said that the universe itself was eternal and indestructible, he added, however, that it was so to God alone, the artificer. So it is not strange if this mass is destroyed by the One by whom it was made. The philosophers, discussing this subject, say the same that we are saying, not that we are following in their footsteps, but that they have imitated the shade of truth concerning divine predictions found in the prophets. These more famous philosophers, first Pythagoras but chiefly Plato, in a defective way told of a renewal of life. For when the body has been cast aside they affirm the mind alone to be eternal and to frequently enter into other bodies. They add to these also other beliefs for distorting the truth, that the souls of men return in

cattle birds and beasts. Such a doctrine is not worthy of the zeal of a philosopher but of the chattering of the comic stage. But it is sufficient for the proposition that even in this belief your philosophers agree with us to a certain extent. But who is so stupid or dull that he dares to deny that man, as he could ~~just~~ be formed by God, so could be reformed by Him; that as regards our body, there is nothing after death and there was nothing before birth? Just as we were born from nothing, may we not be reborn from nothing? Truly it is more difficult to begin that which does not exist than to reinstate that which has existed. Do you believe that anything perishes in the sight of God just because it disappears from your dull eyes? Every body whether it is dried up into dust, is dissolved into moisture, is condensed into ashes or is changed into vapor, disappears from us, but is preserved by God, the protector of the elements. Nor as you believe, do we fear any loss from burial rites of whatever kind, but we respect the older and better custom of burial. See for our consolation how all nature predicts a resurrection. The sun sets and rises, stars disappear and then reappear, flowers die and come to life again; after winter trees leaf out again. Seeds, unless spoiled, put forth their shoots. The body in the grave is just as are the trees in winter which hide their life in pretended unfruitfulness. Why are you impatient for it to revive and come forth when it is still winter? We must await the spring^{time} of the body. I am not ignorant that many, conscious of their demerits, prefer annihilation after death to a future life, for they desire to be utterly destroyed rather than to be given over to punishment. Their error is increased by freedom from punishment

during life and by the patience of God who, although He acts slowly, is exceedingly just.

35. And still men are reminded by the books of the very learned and by the verses of the poets about that Stygian swamp surrounded many a time by an encircling river of fire which they say is provided with everlasting torture and known of, through the evidence of demons and the oracles of prophets. For that reason king Juppiter himself swears by the banks of its streams and its black whirlpool and never breaks his oath. Knowing it beforehand he dreads the punishment destined for him and his worshippers. There is neither moderation nor end to these torments. A wonderful fire burns and repairs the limbs, wastes and nourishes them. Just as the lightning touches but does not consume bodies, just as the fires of Mt. Aetna and Mt. Vesuvius and of other volcanoes burn without exhausting their strength, so that penal fire is not fed by destructible fuel but is supported by the bodies always burning and never consumed. None but the wicked can doubt that those who deny God are justly tortured as impious and unjust since it is not less of a crime to be ignorant of the Master and Creator of the universe than it is to sin against Him. Although ignorance of God suffices for punishment just as knowledge of Him wins favor, nevertheless, if we Christians are compared with you, although in the case of some our discipline is inferior, still we are far better than you. You prohibit and commit adultery, but we are born for our wives alone. You punish confessed guilt; it is wrong among us even to think of evil. You fear exposure, we fear our conscience alone, without which we cannot live. Everywhere prisons overflow with your numbers

but there is no Christian there unless he is a defendant of his faith or a back-slider.

36. Let no one take solace or excuse his evil conduct on the ground that it is made necessary by fate. Provided that there is such a thing as fortune, still our minds are free. Therefore our deeds not our rank is to be judged. What is destiny except what God has fated for each one of us. Since he knows the material beforehand, he determines the lots according to the merits and qualities of each individual. So our birth is not blamed, but the nature of our character punished. But enough concerning fate, especially if few matters can now be discussed. At some other time we will speak more at length. Furthermore the fact that many say we are poor is not a disgrace but glory, for the mind is weakened by luxury, but strengthened by frugality. How can he be poor who is not in need, who envys no one, who is rich in God? That man is really poor who, although he has much, desires more. I shall speak as I feel, however. No one can be so poor as he is born. Birds live without patrimony and are fed from day to day. Still they are born for our use and all those things which were created for us we may possess unless we covet them. ~~Then~~ Just so the man who supports himself in rather poor circumstances is happier in this journey of life than he who sighs under the weight of riches. Still we would ask for riches from God if we thought them useful, since he is able to give a part of which he is the whole. But we prefer to condemn riches rather than attain them, we desire innocence more, we prefer patience, we ask to be good rather than wealthy. We feel and suffer human ailments as training not as punishment. Bravery is strengthened in adversity, calamity

is quite often the teacher of virtue. Strength of mind and body without exercise grows dull. Accordingly all your brave and famous men whom you mention as examples were distinguished for hardships endured. So our God is able to assist us in time of trouble nor does he despise us since he is the guide and lover of us all, but by adversity he tests and examines each one, he weighs the character of individuals by danger even to death, he inquires into the nature of men, secure in the fact that He can never lose His own. So as gold is tested by fire we are tried by the vicissitudes of life.

37. What a beautiful sight for God when a Christian is contending with pain, when he is tranquil in the face of threats, punishment and torture, when smiling he mocks at the preparations for his death and the dread of the executioner, when he asserts his freedom against kings and princes, when he yields to God alone, to whom he belongs, when triumphant he exults a victor because he has professed his faith to him who has condemned him. For he wins who obtains that for which he strives. What soldier under the eyes of his commander does not challenge danger more boldly? For no one obtains the reward before the test. Still the general cannot give what he does not have. He cannot prolong life, he can merely honor military service. The comparison is not just, for the soldier of God is neither deserted in sorrow nor does death end all. So a Christian can seem unfortunate but is not. You raise your unfortunate men to the sky as Mucius Scaevola, who would have perished among the enemy, when he had struck without effect at the king, if he had not burned off his right hand. How many of us have allowed not only our right hands, but even our whole bodies to be burned and

consumed without outcry, when we had it in our power to be released? Do I compare our men with Mucius or Aquillus or Regillus. Our women and children inspired with patience to endure pain, mock at crosses and torture, wild beasts and all the terrors of punishment. Nor do you understand, unhappy men, that there is no one who wishes to undergo punishment without cause or who can bear torture without God. Unless perhaps this deceives you, that those not knowing God abound in riches, secure honors and are strong in their power, unfortunate in that the higher they are raised, the farther they fall; for they are being fattened as victims for the sacrifice, they are crowned as offerings for punishment. For this purpose some are so exalted by power and dominion, that ruined by the love of unrestrained power, they may be made merchandise of. For without the knowledge of God, what permanent happiness can there be since death exists? Like a dream it eludes our grasp. Are you a king? but you fear as much as you are feared and although you are accompanied by a great throng still you are alone in danger. Are you rich? But no trust can be put in fortune. The short journey of life is not aided by a large supply of money for the journey, but is hindered by it. Do you glory in office and rank? It is vanity and empty dignity to gleam in purple but be sordid in mind. Are you of noble rank? Do you praise your ancestry? Still all of us are born equal, we are distinguished by virtue alone. Then we who rank by our mode of living and our modesty righteously abstain from your pleasures, processions and games, the origin of which we know form sacred rites and ^{whose} ~~whence~~ harmful pleasures we condemn. For in the curule game, who does not shudder at the madness of the people quarreling among themselves and

at the teaching of manslaughter at the gladiatorial games? In the plays even the madness is not less and the disgrace more. For comedy now either explains or suggests adultery, now the enervated actor pretends impure love while he executes it in others. The same man while charging debauchery, grief and hate on your Gods, disgraces them, the same man calls forth your tears with his mock sorrows, empty gestures and nods. As in reality you provoke homicide, you weep over it when acted on the stage.

38. As to the fact that we condemn the remains of your sacrifices and libations, it is not a confession of fear, but an assertion of true liberty. Even if everything which is born as the inviolable gift of God can not be made impure, still we refrain lest some one might think that we were either pouring out libations to demons to whom the libation is really made or were ashamed of our own religion. Who, moreover, doubts that we take pleasure in the flowers of spring, when we pick a rose or a lily or any other flower of delicate color and odor. We use them loose and free and also twine them in soft garlands around our necks. Pardon us because we do not crown our heads with blossoms. We breathe in the beautiful breath of the flowers by our nostrils, but we are not accustomed to draw it in through our heads and hair. Nor do we crown the dead. I wonder the more at the way in which you consider the dead, either feeling the funeral torch or not feeling the crown, since happy, they would not need flowers or miserable, they would not enjoy them. Put this aside for we perform our funeral rites with the same tranquility with which we live, nor do we present them with a wreath that will wither but give them a living crown of the

immortal flowers of God. Quiet, moderate, secure in the generosity of our God we animate our hope of future happiness with faith in his present majesty. So happy we shall rise again and live now in a contemplation of the future. Let Socrates the Athenian buffoon who confessed that he knew nothing and gloried in the testimony of a most deceitful spirit see to it, let also Arcesilas, Carneades and Pyrrho and the whole crowd of the Academy doubt and let Simonides put off his decision forever. We condemn the conceit of the philosophers whom we know as corruptors and adulterers, tyrants, always against the very faults which are their own. We who prefer wisdom of mind to the semblance of wisdom, do not speak great things but live them, we glory because we have accomplished what they sought with all their power but could not find. Why are we ungrateful, why are we prejudiced against ourselves if divinity has appeared in its maturity in our day? Let us enjoy our good and let us moderate our opinions justly: let superstition be checked, let impiety be expiated and true religion maintained.

EPILOGUE

When Octavius had finished his speech, we remained for some time in silence still intent and listening. For my part I was lost in admiration that he had even adorned what is easier to feel than to express, with arguments, examples and references, that he had contended against evil wishers with the same weapons with which they were armed, the views of the philosophers, that he had shown ^{that} the truth not only is easy, but even pleasing.

40. While I was turning this over in my mind silently,

Caecilius broke out: "I congratulate Octavius greatly, but myself as much, nor do I await the judgment. I am victorious and not rashly do I claim the victory. For as he has won over me so have I triumphed over error. So I confess the most important point and concerning providence, I yield to God, I agree concerning the sincerity of the sect which is now mine. There are however some difficulties still remaining, not opposing the truth but necessary for a perfect understanding. We shall speak of these to-morrow as the sun is now setting, when we can discuss them more fully". "And I" ^{say,} "for my part rejoice more than any of us, because Octavius has won for me and relieved me of the distasteful duty of rendering a decision. Still I cannot praise him justly with mere words, the approbation of man and especially of one man is so weak. He has a fitting reward from God by whom he was inspired and aided."

Then happy and rejoicing we left, Caecilius because he had been converted, Octavius because he had won; and I because the one had believed and the other had won.

NOTES

The text used for these notes is Gudeman's Latin Literature of the Empire, Vol. I.

Page 463, line 1. Cogitanti;

The placing of the cogitanti mihi in so emphatic a position in the sentence is indicative of the personal element which pervades the entire work. The entire sentence is typical.

Page 463, line 11.

crederes: 2nd per. sing. indef. with the subjunctive of Ideal Certainty; H and B 519 - 1; 542.

Page 463, line 18 Intentio

Intentio, attention, is used with this meaning only in Latin of the Empire. Livy, Pliny, Seneca and Quintilian use it in this sense.

Page 464, line 6 : igitur

Igitur is generally post positive. Cicero so uses it except in introducing a philosophical proposition (Zumpt 357).

Latin authors use it indiscriminately. Minucius has it as first word seven times, as second, eight times, as third, once.

Page 464, line 9.

Ostia: the harbor of Rome distant about sixteen miles. It was a flourishing town until Claudius built a better harbor on the right arm of the Tiber, when the older town sank into insignificance. The modern town bears the same name.

Page 464, line 10.

civitatem = oppidum, as also in line 26.

Page 464, line 12.

Feriae Vinderniales.

Vintage Festival August 22 - October 15, the last of the harvest festivals corresponding to the true Michaelmas harvest, festivals of modern Europe. In the Roman Campagna there is still held a lively festival of this sort in October. Most of the rites had to do with the sacrifice of a horse representing the corn spirit. A chariot race was also held. See Fowler's Roman Festivals.

Page 464, line 18.

Serapis: Egyptian Osiris was the male god of the fructification of the land. He was murdered by his brother Typhon. Although no longer on earth he was regarded as source of life, his ever renewed incarnation being in the form of the black bull Apis. Isis his wife and sister was the goddess of the creative principle in nature and like him ruled in the lower world. Their son Horus because he overcame the murderer of his father was considered the victorious god of light who overcame darkness in winter. Traders from the Nile brought the Isiac worship to Greece as early as 4th B.C. The Egyptian trinity Isis Osiris and Horus find counterparts in Demeter Dionysius and Apollo. In Greece Serapis takes the place of Osiris. They never appear together in inscriptions. See Dill - Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.

Page 464, line 14.

autumnitas, anti-and post classical word, au(c)tumnus is the more usual word.

Page 464, line 14.

cum....pergeemus. The subjunctive is used in a cum-clause

to denote what
took place. The tenses are the imperfect and pluperfect.

Page 464, line 15.

Diluculo. "day break," is a poetical word used as early as Plautus.

Page 465, line 5.

cum.....ventum est: in a determinative cum clause i.e. one determining an antecedent idea of any kind, the indicative is used. The majority of these clauses have their verb in the perfect, but in determinative clauses of situation the imperfect and pluperfect are found.

Page 465, line 27.

Secta; originally meant a trodden path. In Post Augustan Latin it came to mean a school or doctrine; in religious works a "sect".

Page 465, line 32.

ex tribus: Minucius never uses e; cf. page 492, line 15; page 496, line 29.

Page 466, line 4. Tum.....videatur

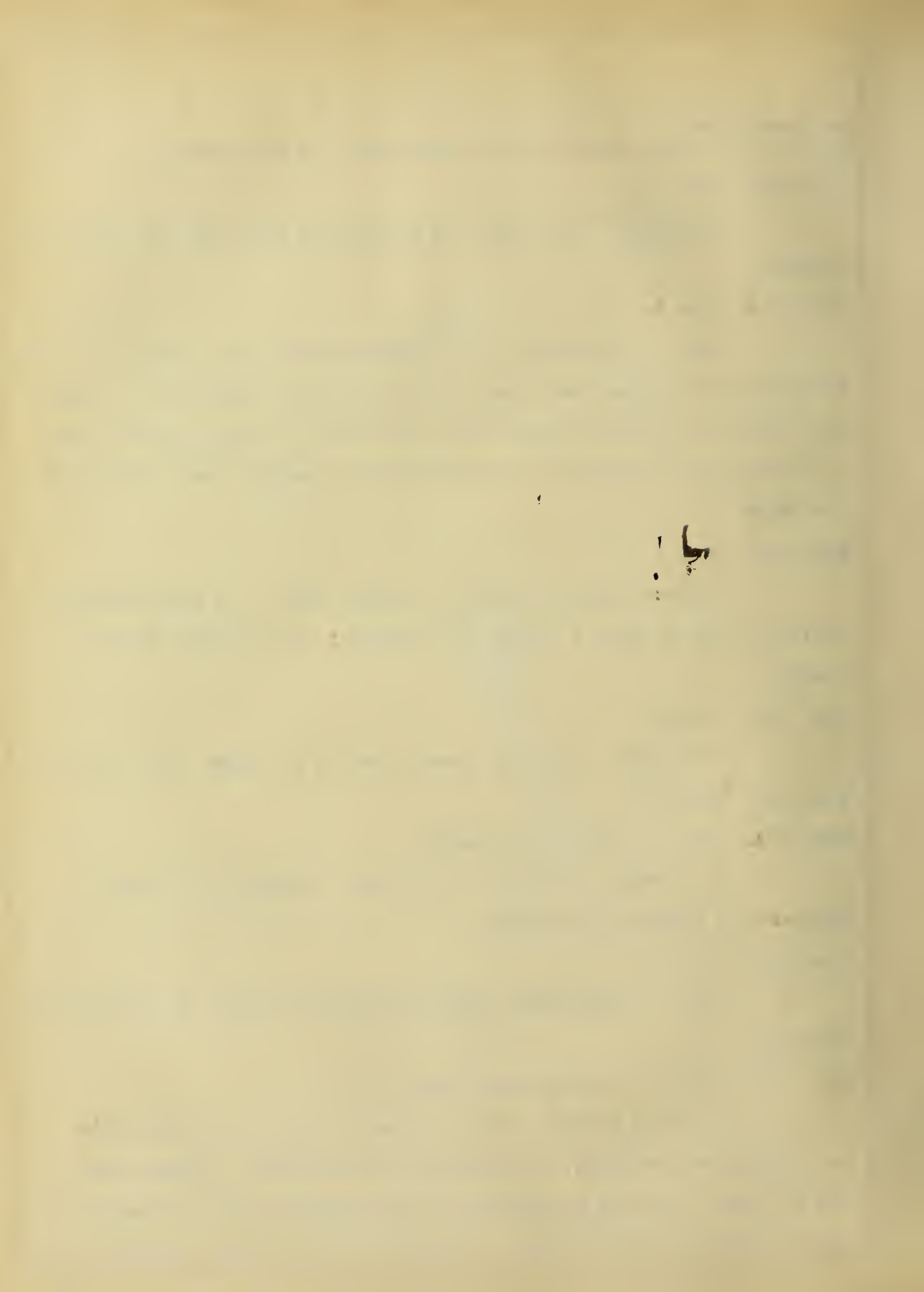
An example of excellent sentence structure for which Minucius is especially praised.

Page 466, line 6.

quo.....quaerimus, indic. instead of subj. in an indirect question.

Page 466, line 21. artium sordidarum

Any kind of work with the head or hand for sordid gain was considered debasing. Agriculture was excepted. State craft and war were the only occupations of the higher class. No salaries were attached to the offices, the gain coming through positions in



the provinces where in general every sort of robbery and extortion was practiced. Nominally the spoils of war belonged to the state treasury, In reality the commander kept what he pleased for himself, his staff and soldiers and sent the rest to Rome. The professions and trades were given over to freedmen and foreigners.

Page 466, line 30. sapientis oraculum

"Know thyself". Socrates tried to awaken in his followers an impulse towards self-knowledge with respect to the end and value of human action.

Page 468, line 1. Phalaris et Dionysius

Phalaris was a tyrant of Agrigentum notorious for his cruelty. He was killed in a popular revolt B.C. 549. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, did much to strengthen and extend power of his city. His court was frequented by the most distinguished philosophers and poets. He had no fear of the Gods, plundering temples and desecrating even images of Gods.

Page 468, line 2. Rutilius et Camillus

Romans especially noted for their integrity but banished on false charges by enemies.

Page 468, line 3.

temulenta vindemia: highly figurative.

Page 468, line 17.

During the late Republic and early empire there was a great influx of foreign dieties. The above were some of the most commonly worshipped. The Eastern cults satisfied devotional feelings which could find little nourishment in the abstract native Roman religion.

Page 468, line 22.

dum.....exercent: Minucius makes frequent use of the dum clause temporal and causal with the present indicative.

Page 468, line 27.

superstitio, excessive or unreasonable religious belief as opposed to religio, a proper and reasonable awe of the Gods. It is a feeling highly despised by the educated Roman. Cic. speaks of contaminata sup. Clu 68, 194. Seneca calls it error insanus. Ep. 123, 16. Sup. est timor superfluus et delerus (Serv. Verg. A 8, 187.). Cic. defines superstitio as a religious belief or practice going beyond the prescription of ancestral usage. A. Pluto De. Supersti.

Page 469, line 1.

Antiquitas, antiquity as opposed to vetustas old age or long existence.

Page 469, line 10.

Mater Idaea was introduced into Rome 204 B.C. at the command of the Sibylline oracle for the purpose of driving Hannibal out of Italy. The holy stone was brought from Pessinus. Megalesia, a festival in her honor was held Apr. 2 - 4. She is identified as a representation of the fruitfulness of nature.

Page 469, line 12.

Equestrum fratrum, the Dioscuri who announced the defeat of Perses in Italy on the same day that it was won at Pydna (168 B.C.) by Aemilius Paulus. Cic. Nat. De. II - 2 - 6.

Page 469, line 18.

Coaequavit - an unusual word, but found in good prose. Sallust, C 20, 11; Cic. Verr 2, 3, 41; Cato R. R. 91 and 129. Aequare

is the usual term.

Page 469, line 20.

Allia: a small river flowing into Tiber, memorable for the defeat of Romans on its banks by the Gauls 382 B.C. Hence the dies Alliensis was an unlucky day on the Roman calendar.

Page 470, line 9.

Theodorus, usually designated by classical writers as the Atheist, was a philosopher of the Cyrenaic School who resided for some time at Athens. Being banished he went to Alexandria

Diagoras, a follower of Democritus who publicly declared his disbelief in Divine Providence. He attempted to lay open the Mysteries in a book. A price was placed on his head and he fled to Corinth where he died.

Page 470, line 15.

Protagoras, a Thracian by birth, became ^{one}~~most~~ of the most prominent Sophists at Athens. In 411 he was accused of impiety by Pythodorus one of the Four Hundred because of this statement in one of his books. "Respecting the Gods I am unable to know whether they exist or do not exist". Cic. Nat. Deor^{um} I - 1 - 2.

Page 470, line 26.

inhumanus: The pagans accused the Christians of infant immolation at these feasts.

Page 470, line 30.

Christians usually wore the ordinary dress of their station and country. In some cases the convert adopted the napless cloak of the philosopher. Usually a convert who held civil office continued to wear his official dress. There was however a strong feeling

against luxury, display and immodesty in apparel. Clement of Alexandria and Tertulléan wrote bitter invectives against display in dress among the Christians.

Page 470, line 30.

purpuras, Scarlet and purple were the most valued colors. In the early Empire whole purple cloaks were rare. Caesar restricted the use of whole purple garments to certain persons and certain days. August^{us} granted them only to acting senators, when presiding at their games. Tiberius enforced these laws. Nero attempted to prohibit the sale of Tyrian purple.

Page 471, line 9.

insignibus: The fish was one of the most important of the Christian symbols, probably in consequence of the acrostic meaning from *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ* which gives *ἰχθύς*. The symbol was part of the secret language of the early Christians used as late as the 4th Century. It is found most frequently in the ancient portions of the catacombs. The symbol^{is} usually joined with others as a dove and an olive branch, an anchor, a ship. See Aug. Civ. D. 18. 23.

Page 471, line 13.

honore - with your permission, an unusual use of the word.

Page 471, line 14.

caput asini: The belief that the Christians worshipped the head of an ass prevailed in early times but appears to have died out during the 3rd century. There are various speculations as to the origin of this belief. It may have arisen in the Gentile world and have been applied to the Jews before the Christian era.

Ashima for the more sacred word Jehovah may have suggested asinus to the Roman soldiers. It may have arisen in Egypt. Octavius in his defense mentions the Pagan worship of the ass there. It may have been a calumny of the Jews against the Christians which reflected back on them. It may have originated from the use of the ass as a symbol by some gnostic sects. In 1856 a graffite was found in Rome representing a caricature of a convert of the 2nd century. A kneeling figure is lifting up its head in reverence to a cross on which is a human figure with an ass's head. The graffite is in the library of the Collegio Romano at Rome.

Page 471, line 20.

In initiations into the mysteries of Syrian and Egyptian worships a profound impression was made upon the imagination and feelings of the novice in much the same manner that Caecilius accuses the Christians of using. Baptism by blood was a crowning rite of later paganism, relieving the guilty conscience and regarded as a new birth.

Page 471, line 28.

convivio - The agape or repast of the Christians in common was instituted in memory of the Last Supper. St. Paul refers to certain abuses which were introduced into these assemblies. Originally the agape was preceded by the reception of the Eucharist, ^{by} but by the end of first century this practice was given up. Each contributed his part of the feast. St. Paul said to the rich who complained of the simplicity of the agape that they could provide better things at their own homes.

Page 471, line 29.

Cirtensis - M. Cornelius Fronto, born at Cirta Africa

A.D. 100 was a rhetorician and grammarian of great reputation. He was the preceptor of Marcus Aurelius.

Page 471, line 34.

The fear of exposing the evangelical doctrines and the sacraments to the scorn and contempt of the pagans caused them to be veiled in mystery. It was regarded a crime to celebrate the mysteries in the presence of a pagan or even to speak of the nature of the sacrament. This point of discipline was called the *Disciplina Arcani*. Because of the many calumnies against the Christians which arose from the law of silence, it gradually ceased to be enforced.

Page 472, line 2.

The Christians first met in the *coenicles* or dining halls in the upper part of the house. *Eutychius*, whom St. Paul restored to life, fell from such a hall. Later persecutions forced them to meet in the crypts or subterranean caverns formed by the quarries out of the city.

Page 472, line 11.

Sibi is used to emphasize the possessive idea of *sua*.

Page 472, line 17.

siquidem, "if indeed," gains the force of "for" or "since" and is used in a virtual clause of reason.

Page 472, line 16.

Caecilius expresses the same contempt for an active God as does *Velleius* the Epicurean representative in *Cic. Nat. De. Bk. I* 22.

Page 472, line 33.

damnant ignium sepulturas: Although the Christians

contended that no variation in the method of burial could affect the resurrection of the body, they protested against cremation as lacking in reverence and suggesting a denial of the truth of resurrection. When their persecutors desired to inflict especial outrage on a Christian, they burned the body after they had inflicted death by torture.

Page 473, line 22.

Protesilaus was the first Greek killed at Troy, being the first man to leap from the ships upon the Trojan coast. His tomb was near Eleus where a splendid temple was erected in his honor.

Page 473, line 33.

egētis: The acquirement of wealth was not unlawful among the Christians, but it was to be devoted to charitable purposes not hoarded up in a spirit of avarice.

Page 474, line 10.

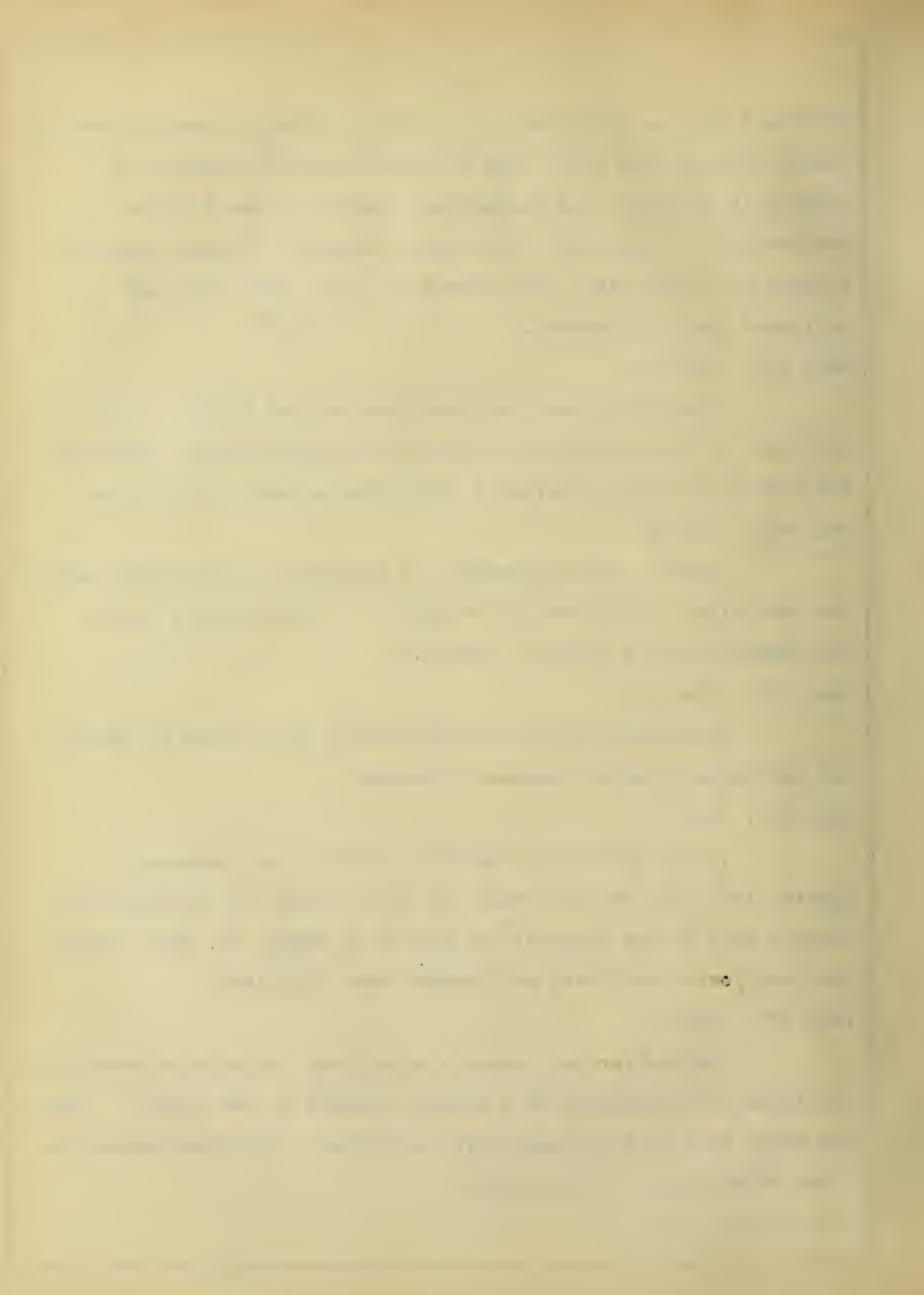
Syrian and Egyptian worships also had periods of fasting and abstinence from all sensual pleasure.

Page 474, line 11.

In the question of lawful recreation and amusement Cyprian laid down the rule that the code forbade the Christian to witness what it was unlawful for him to do (Migne IV. 340). Hence the gladi^atorial conflicts and theater were forbidden.

Page 474, line 11.

Spectacula^m had become a substitute for popular assemblies. Petitions and complaints were brought forward by the people. Jibes and abuse even of the emperor were permitted. Political demonstrations often began at these shows.



Page 474, line 15.

Immediately after death the body was washed, anointed, sometimes embalmed, and swathed in white linen. Often the insignia of office, gems and ornaments were placed in the coffin. Flowers were scattered over the body but the practice ~~was~~ crowning the head with a wreath was given up partly as associated with licentious revelry and partly as tainted with idolatry.

Page 474, line 33.

Arcesilaus 315 - 241 and Carneades of Cyrene 214 - 129 were the chief expounders of the Middle Academy; Pyrrho of Elis was the founder of the Sceptical or Pyrrhonian School. Timon was his greatest disciple.

Page 475, line 2.

Simonides (556 - 467) one of the most celebrated lyric poets of Greece. He won fifty-six prizes at Athens in poetical contests, conquering Aeschylus in an elegy on those who fell at Marathon. He was invited to Syracuse by Hiero, at whose court he lived ^{until} ~~to~~ tell his death. Cic. Nat. De. I - 22 - 60.

Page 478.

In answer to the assertion of Caecilius that there is no Providence, Octavius uses the argument of design. cf. Cic. De. Nat. Deor. II 1 - 17; II - 59 - 147 where Balbus uses the same method of argument. Mark Hopkins - Evidence of Christianity uses the argument of design.

Page 478, line 3.

concinnatus atomis - the theory first advanced by Democritus and further expounded by Epicurus and made a part of the

Epicurian philosophy.

Page 478, line 6.

concatenata - found only in late Latin - Lactantius and Minucius.

Page 478, line 4 to 11.

cf. Cic. Nat. Deorum II - 56- 140.

Page 478, line 16.

instar - unusual word, used with the genitive in classical Latin.

Page 479, line 8.

olivitas: In Italy the olive tree grew so well that the Italian oil, especially from the South Italian cities and from the Sabine country, was considered the finest in the world. It met with such a ready sale abroad that olive raising became one of the principal Italian industries.

Page 479, line 19.

cf. Cic. Nat. De II - 48 - 121.

Page 479, line 31.

roris: literally dew; a poetical word.

Page 480, line 17.

Thebanorum par: Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Oedipus king of Thebes. On his death they agreed to reign alternately each a year. At the end of the first year Eteocles refused to relinquish his power. Adrastus, father-in-law of Polynices marched against Thebes with the armies of seven celebrated chiefs. Aeschylus, Euripedes and Sophocles wrote tragedies based on the story of the Theban War.

Page 480, line 19.

The civil war of Pompey and Caesar.

Page 481, line 15.

patrem divumque hominumque: Ennius Ann. VI fr. 2. V.

cf. Cic. Nat. De. II 2, 4.

Page 481, line 17.

Mantuanus: Christian writers studied and quoted Virgil more than any other of the classical authors. His fourth Eclogue was ~~is~~ supposed to refer to the birth of Christ and the golden age which He was to bring about on earth. St. Jerome shows his influence.

Page 481, line 19.

cf. Verg. Aen. VI 724 - 27.

Page 481, line 24 and 25.

Verg. Georg IV 221 and 2.

Page 481, line 26.

Verg. Aen. I, 743.

Page 481, line 28.

disciplinam philosophorum: the views of the philosophers are similarly given by Velleius (Cic. Nat. De. I - 10 - 16.).

Page 483, line 6.

Socraticus Xenophon: Memorab. IV - 3- 13. The Memorabilia of Socrates was written by Xenophon to defend the memory of his master from the charge of irreligion and of corrupting the Athenian youth. It is a practical work not intended to be a complete exhibition of Socrates but as a genuine picture of the man, its value is very great.

Page 483, line 17.

Eadem.....sunt: His purpose here has been to line up the philosophy of the world with the Christian beliefs, giving to them a philosophical rather than personal basis and so refuting Caecilius with his own arguments, the views of the philosophers.

Page 483, line 31.

felicibus vulneribus: In the contest between Hercules and the watersnake Hydra for every head which he cut off two new ones arose on the snake. The destruction of the monster was one of the twelve labors of Hercules.

Page 484, line 17.

Euhemerus attempted to show that the dieties were mortal men raised to the rank of Gods from the benefits they conferred on mankind. He claimed to have found a column inscribed with a register of the births and deaths of many of the Gods. Ennius translated his work.

Page 484, line 25.

Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus Terence, Eun. IV 5, 6.
cf. Cic. Nat. De. II, 23, 60.

Page 484, line 34.

accesserat: accedere is generally used with a preposition and acc. or with the dative.

Page 485, line 5.

uterque.....reliquerunt: Minucius uses uterque twice with a plural verb; cf. page 8, line 11 uterque.....sustulerunt.

Page 485, line 18.

Proculus cf. Plut. Romulus: Levy I 16 5-8. Proculus

declared that as he was returning by night from Alba to Rome, Romulus appeared to him in more than mortal majesty and bade him tell the Romans that he, Romulus, would be their guardian God Quirinus.

Page 486, line 1

Et.....tumulum: The text here is corrupt.

Page 486, line 7.

The celebration of the quest and finding of Osiris was in November. The death of Osiris at the hands of Typhon, the rending and scattering of the lacerated remains were passionately lamented in sympathy with the mourning Isis by the devotees. With equally extravagant joy they celebrated the finding and restoration of the God on the third day.

Page 487, line 4.

concremare - probably not used before the Augustan period. Found in works of Livy, Suetonius and Pliny. Cremare is the usual word.

Page 487, line 7.

qui.....^cno^uerunt. cf. Cic. Nat. De. I, 16 - 42.

Page 487, line 8.

Plato.....eiecit: Plato - Republic II, 380.

Page 487, line 14.

Briarius: A hundred armed, fifty headed monster known among men as Aegaeon, among the Gods as Briarius (Hom Il. 1, 403). He with his brothers conquered the Titans for Zeus and was placed by him to guard them in Tartarus.

Page 487, line 17.

Hercules.....egeit: The seventh labor of Hercules which

he accomplished by turning the rivers Alpheus and Peneus into the farmyard. Augeas refused him the promised reward. Hercules slew him and his sons and thereupon founded the Olympean games. Page 487, line 17.

Admetus: Apollo tended his flocks for nine years when he was forced to serve a mortal for having killed the Cyclops. Alcestes, his wife died for him when Apollo had prevailed upon the Moerae to grant Admetus deliverance from death on that provision. Hercules brought her back from the lower world. Euripedes has a tragedy "Alcestes". Page 487, line 31.

orare. Minucius uses the pres. infinite after dubito where quin and the subj. is usual. cf. also page 36, line 13; page 41, line 17. Page 488, line 2.

cf. Hor. Sat. I - 8. A satire on the making of a God. Page 488, line 29.

scuta vetera circumferunt: On March 1 the Salii or dancing priests of Mars moved the shields, which were supposed to be copied from the original ancile or shield of Mars which fell down from heaven, from the Sacrarium Martis in the Regia. They carried them through the city in a procession which lasted till the 24th of the month. Page 488, line 30.

mendicantis.....ducent: Wandering priests of the lowest moral standard with painted cheeks, robes of white or yellow crossed with purple stripes carried images of the Magna Mater through the

rural districts. Wildly dancing, biting their arms and lacerating them with knives they shriek out a confession of guilt in a pretended frenzy of repentance. The sympathetic witnesses would shower gifts upon the imposters and they would pass on to the next village. Apuleius gives an account of these begging priests.

Page 488, line 32.

est quo vero non licet: No men were permitted to enter a temple of the Goddess Bona Dea, the patroness of chastity and fruitfulness. Her temple at Rome was on the slope of the Aventine. ^{for} The indic instead of subj. in a ~~clause~~ of characteristic after a verb of existence, cf. page 41, line 17.

Page 489, line 9.

parricidium fecit: The murder of his brother Remus when he had mockingly leaped over the wall which Romulus was building around the city.

Page 489, line 11.

alienas virgines.....rapuit: The rape of the Sabine women at the games in honor of the God Consus, to which Romulus had invited the neighboring states.

Page 489, line 16.

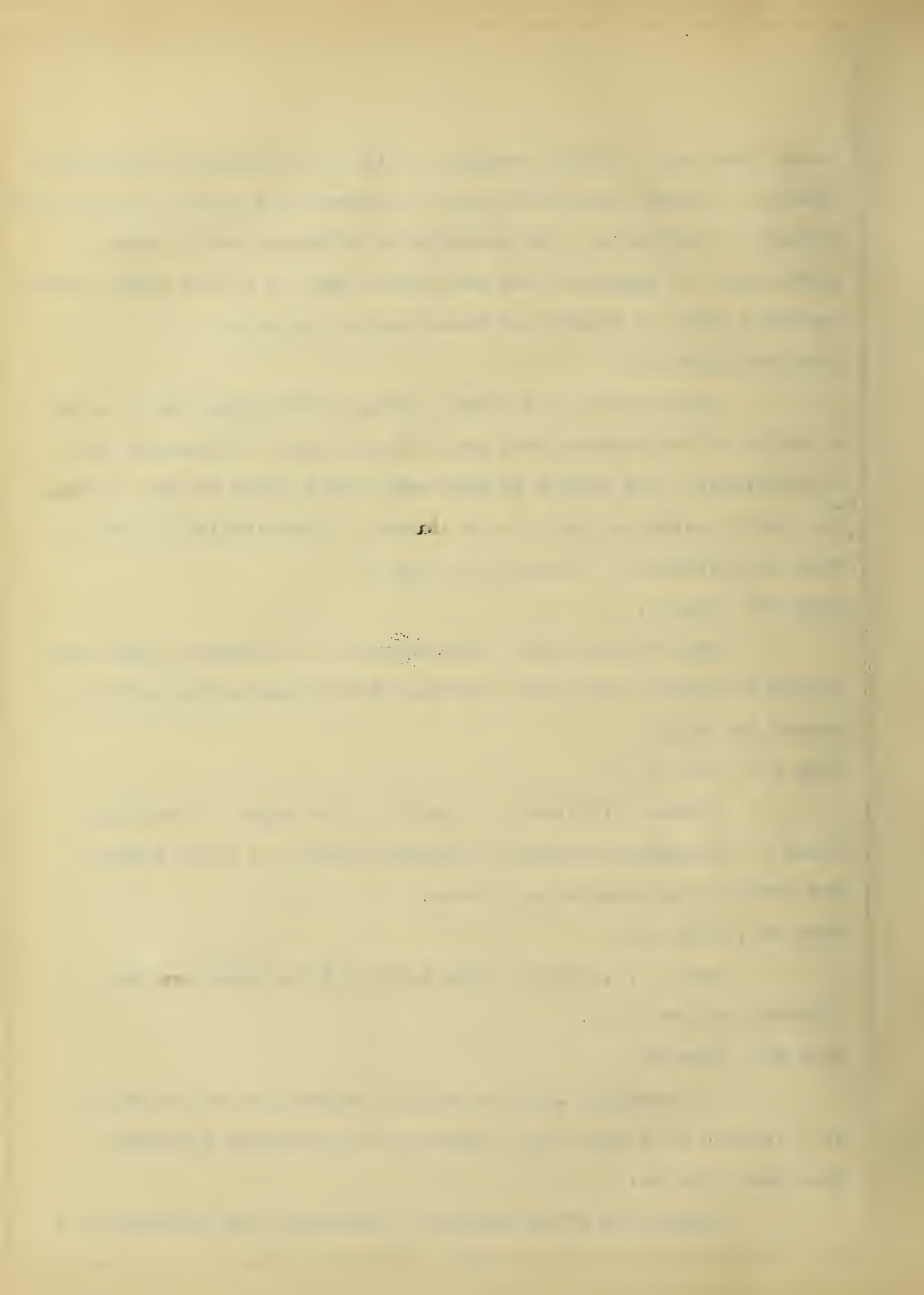
iam.....pellere: The wars with the ^{people of} ~~the~~ Camerini, the Fidenae, and ~~the~~ Veii.

Page 489, line 21.

de manubiiS: Minucius makes frequent use of de and the abl. instead of a more usual ablative of instrument or cause.

Page 489, line 34.

Pecus: God of Agriculture, originally the woodpecker, a



symbol of Mars, and later developed into a separate deity.

Tiberinus: the personified Tiber.

Consus: The god of counsel whose altar in ^{the}campus Martⁱus was always covered except on August 18th his festival day.

Pilumnus: one of three dieties to protect women and children from the forest god Silvanus.

Page 490, line 1.

Cloacina: a diety who presided over sewers; properly Cleocina from Cleo so called because the Romans purified themselves at the end of Sabine war in the vicinity of the Statue of Venus.

Page 490, line 4.

Acca L^arentia, the wife of Faustulus who nursed Romulus and Remus. Her festival was held Dec. 23. There is a possibility that the Laarentalia was originally a feast of the dead preserved because the tomb of L^arentia is said to be in the Velabrum at the foot of the rock.

Page 490, line 4.

Flora: an old Italian diety closely related to Ceres and Venus to whom piacula were offered by the Fratres Arvales. From April 28 the original day of her games, until May 3 the greatest indec^{en}cy was let loose. Her worship developed under the influence of luxury and grew more and more objectionable under the Empire.

Page 490, line 16.

Solistimum tripudium: a most favorable omen given by the sacred chickens when they ate so greedily that part of the food fell from their bills to the ground. Cic. De Div. II, 34 - 72.

Page 490, line 18.

Mancinus was defeated by the Numantines and won his safety by making peace with them. The Senate refused to recognize the peace and he was expelled from the Senate on his return on the grounds that he had lost his citizenship.

Page 490, line 25.

proditum iri: an unusual use of the future passive infinitive.

Page 490, line 27.

De Pyrrho.....^sdeisset: cf. Cic. De. Div. II - 56 - 116.
Ennius fragment 179 of Annals (Vahlen^s) "Aiño te Acacida Romanos vincere posse".

Page 490, line 30.

Demosthenes.....quereretur. cf. Cic. De. Div. II 57-118.

Page 491, line 9.

Daemonas: Apuleius[^] believed the daemones to be so placed between God and men that they carry heavenward man's prayers and bring down the Gods' helps, middle agents between Gods and men to be adored with ~~divine~~^{divine} worship. They were subject to anger, delight, inconstancy, presided over dreams, auguries, prophecies and all magicians' miraculous works. Augustine[^] believed that such spirits existed but that they were in no way our betters because of an airy body, that they were to be pitied not worshipped because of their passionate nature, that they who have evil traits could not be fit messengers to Gods. He believed that "they represent^{those} most thirsty of mischief, wholly unjust, proud, envious, treacherous, inhabiting the air indeed, as thrust out of the glorious heaven for their un-

pardonable guilt, and condemned eternally to that prison. Now were they above man in merit because air is above earth, for men easily excel^{only} them not in quality of body, but in faith and favor of the true God". cf. Augustin De Civ. Dei VII, 14 - 26.

Page 491, line 10.

Socrates novit: cf. Cic. De. Div. I- 54 - 122 - 125. Xen. Memorabilia I - 1 - 4.

Page 491, line 23.

In Symposio: cf. Demosthenes, Symposium 23.

Page 492, line 4.

in perditionem: in with acc. to denote the effect or purport.

Page 492, line 10.

Hinc.....rotantur: wandering dervishes of Magna Mater.
cf. page 26, line 30.

Page 492, line 14.

tibi: Minucius frequently uses the dative of agent with passive verbs, not always in perfect, according to the Greek construction.

Page 493, line 1.

caput asini: cf. Octavius page 471, line 14.

Page 493, line 3.

Et.....paeniteret: a good example of sentence structure in the Octavius.

Page 493, line 3.

Nos idem fecimus: Minucius and Octavius had been Roman magistrates remarkable for their violent hatred toward the Christians.

They had employed the most severe torture against those refusing to deny their faith.

Page 493, line 20.

When Pliny wrote to Trajan for advise as to the persecution of the Christians, he replied "not to search for Christians, but to punish them if they persevered in their profession of faith when they had been denounced and convicted". Pliny's letter to Trajan 96 - 97.

Page 494, line 4.

Epona: the goddess presiding over horses, paintings of whom have often been found in stables. Epus from ecus = equus.

Page 494, line 12.

Quod-----terrenum: This is the nearest mention of Christ in the Octavius. From this Minucius ⁱnfers that our Lord was more than a mere man.

Page 494, line 15.

ne: interjection used only when joined with a personal pronoun or a demonstrative. In classical prose it is usually with a conditional clause.

Page 494, line 24.

Sic.....regis: Along with formal worship of ancient divinities Augustus fostered the worship of the emperor as of use in creating a spirit of loyalty to the Empire. Swearing by his "genius" and worshipping his image resembled an oath of allegiance. By the admission of freedmen to the priesthood the allegiance ~~and~~ a influential and wealthy class was attached to the Empire. In the provinces conc^ol^aia of deputies were permitted to meet for common

worship of the Emperor for the sending of petitions to him, a popular representation of much importance in provincial government. The refusal of Christians to worship the image of the Emperor was one of the chief causes of their persecution.

Page 495, line 8.

vix dum hominis: Unusual use of an adverb modifying a noun.

Page 495, line 17.

Tauris: The Taurians sacrificed all strangers to a goddess whom the Greeks identified with Artemis. At the sacrifice of Iphigenia she was supposed to have been carried off to Tauris by ~~Athenes~~ to be her priestess there. ceirifides, "I phegenia among the Tauri". Sacrifices

Page 495, line 18.

Busiridi: Busiris was a reputed king of Egypt who offered up strangers as a sacrifice on the altar of Zeus. Hercules among these, was to be sacrificed, but slew Busiris. The myth is probably a legend of former sacrifice of human victims to Osiris, Busiris being a corruption of that name.

Page 495, line 19.

Mercurio: The human sacrifices were in honor of the Gods Tentates and Esus apparently equivalent to Mercury and Mars. The Druids sacrificed a man in case of severe illness or great danger believing the will of the gods could be propitiated for the saving of one man only by the sacrifice of another. cf. Caesar. Bello Gallico VI - 16.

Page 495, line 24.

Bellona: A Cappadocian goddess introduced during the Mithridatic War. The priests at festivals of the goddess shed their own blood at the sacrifice wounding themselves with a two-edged ax.

Page 495, line 31.

Pythagoreanism was revived and took over the repudiation of all animal food. In Egypt it was most conspicuous among the Christians. Usually abstinence from flesh was combined with abstinence from wine. At Rome zealous maintainers of the strictly moral character of Christianity demanded the renunciation of animal food and wine.

Page 496, line 7.

dinoscimus: Post Augustan; ^{cf} Pliny, Quin, Suet, Juv. and Horace.

Page 496, line 9.

cf. Ephesians III - 6; Titus III - 7; Romans VIII - 17.

Page 496, line 30.

videre non possumus; cf. Timothy I - 1 16.

Page 497, line 10.

a quo-----tenebris: cf. Corinth I 4 - 5.

line 20 non tantum.....vivimus: cf. Acts. 17, 28.

Page 497, line 28.

unum et ipsi Deum: Chiasmus is frequently found in the Octavius.

Page 498, line 17.

Stoicis constans opinio est: cf. Cic. Nat. Div. II, 46, 118.

Page 499, line 15.

veter^sum et meliorem consuetudin^em,

In the earlier days of the republic the Romans interred their dead. In the time of Sulla they adopted the Greek practice of cremation. The dictator himself is said to have been the first Roman whose body was burned. Plin. Hist. Nat. VII - 54. Cic. de Legg 11, 25. Even after cremation became general some part of the body, usually the bone of the finger, was burned as a ceremonial. On the Esquiline hill were the puticul^e or grave pits of the poor.

Page 499, line 26.

Quorum.....iustum est: cf. Petr II 3, 9.

Page 499, line 31.

carminibus poetar^{um}: cf. Ver. Aen. VI, 323.

Page 500, line 4.

ignis.....reficit: St. Augustine believed that God recreated bodies so that they could suffer eternally; Aug. de. Civ. Dei. XVII, 7.

Page 500, line 32.

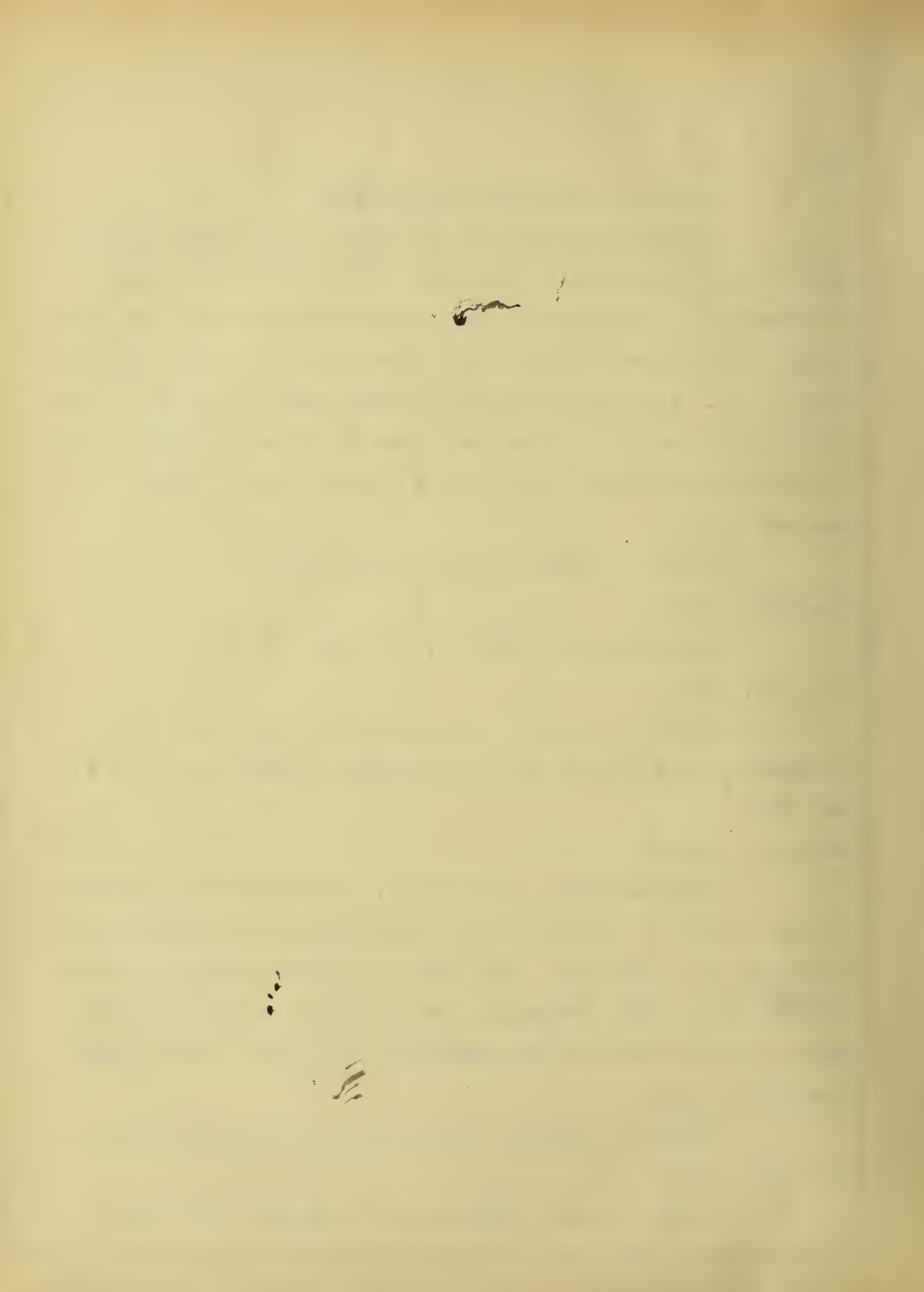
alias: an adverb from an acc. form like foras according to Prisc. 1014 P. By some it has been considered an old genitive form like pater familias. Very rare in the anteclassical period; ^{once} found in Varro; most frequently used by Cicero in the classical period but only twice in his orations. It is also used by Pliny.

Page 501, line 25.

Itaque.....arg^uimur: cf. Proverbs 17, 3; Petr. I, 1, 7.

Page 502, line 7.

Mucius Scaevola: Mucius made an attempt of the life of



King Porsena when he was beseiging Rome. The king commanded him to be burned alive. To show his contempt for pain, Mucius placed his right hand in the flame and let it burn off. The king was so surprised that he gave him his freedom. Because of the loss of his right hand he was called ~~Scavorio~~^{Scavorio} - lefthanded.

Page 502line 12.

Pueri.....inludunt: Tacitus, Suetonius and Pliny are our earliest authorities on Christian persecution. cf. Tac. Annals XV, 44. Pliny Episad Trajan, 96, 97. The persecution of Nero was begun to divert the feeling against him at the time of the burning of Rome (to the Christians). It was continued as a permanent police measure against them as a sect dangerous to public safety. Between 68 and 96 the attitude of the Emperors was so changed that proof of definite crime was not required, but the acknowledgment of the name alone was sufficient for the death penalty. Popular hatred of the Christians strengthened the attitude of the rulers. The real cause of the persecution was based on political not religious grounds, for the Christians maintained an extra Imperial Unity. The earliest argument against them was that of setting up a king in opposition to the emperor.

Page 502, line 18.

Miseri.....altius: cf. Juvenal's Satires, X 104 - 107.

Page 503, line 13.

Nam.....tamen: cf. Timoth. I 4, 4.





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